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ASSYRIA;
HER MANNERS AND CUSTOMS,
ARTS AND ARMS:

RESTORED FROM HER MONUMENTS.

BY PHILIP HENRY GOSSE.

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M. L. King

PREFACE.

THE opening of the grave of buried Nineveh by M. Botta and Mr. Layard, is an event of which we cannot yet measure the importance. The mighty empire of Assyria had been hitherto known to us scarcely more than by name: dim traditions of her grandeur had indeed loomed through the haze of a far distant antiquity, and Sacred History had introduced her as an irresistible crusher of the nations, only the instant before she herself was crushed signally and irretrievably; like a torch, which, suddenly brought out of the concealment in which it had long been burning, casts a broad fiery glare upon the night for a moment, and is quenched for ever. But, by the wondrous providence of God directing the expectations and energies of European archaeologists to the spot, remains of that great empire, possessed of the highest interest, have been discovered; elaborate sculptures, in many cases as fresh in their sharp and delicate lines as if newly from the chisel of the artist, detailing with beautiful clearness and precision the manners and customs, occupations and amusements, arts and arms, of a nation that was in its grave before recognised profane history began her task.

These, with many other relics found in the rubbish

of the buried palaces, have been carefully copied in the magnificent volumes of the discoverers; and the specimens themselves, or at least a great number of them, are now patent to the world in the Museums of Paris and London.

But even these pictures of Assyrian manners, sketched by Assyrian artists, are not the most valuable remains that have been brought to light. A multitude of inscriptions also have been recovered, the annals of the empire, engraved in alabaster and marble; and, by a singular and admirable coincidence, recovered at the very moment when the character and language in which they are written, were at length decyphered, after having baffled the ingenuity and learning of ages. These are now in process of being read, and though the arduous task has been only just commenced, the results that have been achieved, are of the most valuable and gratifying character, as will be seen in the following pages; and stimulate the highest expectation from what remains to be translated.

To collect from the recovered monuments the thousand traits of Assyrian life that they present; to deduce from what is expressed much that is only implied, the unseen from the seen; to digest the information thus acquired, and to arrange it methodically, so as to form an intelligible portraiture of the manners of the age and nation; have been the objects of the present work.

In order to accomplish these, it was found necessary to form a minute and complete analysis of the monuments; noting down in its proper place, under

the various heads and subdivisions in which the subject was arranged, every occurrence of an occupation, costume, weapon, animal, &c., in such a manner that all the representations of any particular object or incident could be seen at a glance, and referred to in order.*

The acquaintance with Assyrian manners thus obtained from sources of unquestionable authority, constitutes the groundwork of the present volume; but with this has been conjoined a careful examination of collateral fountains of information respecting ancient usages, for illustrations alternately afforded and received. The sculptures and paintings of ancient Egypt, the remains of Sanscrit literature that have been translated and edited in Europe, the early poets and historians of Greece, especially Homer (a contemporary of the Assyrian age, the subject of whose principal poem was a vassal of the Ninevite court), and Herodotus (who was familiar with Oriental

* Of this analysis, which was a work of no small labour, the following specimen will convey an idea to the reader; the letters referring to Mr. Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh," folio, Lond. 1849, (L); and to M. Botta's "Monument de Ninive," folio, Par. 1850, (B); and the numbers to the plates of those superb works.

WAR.

ARMS (*defensive*).

Shield.—L. 8, 10, 11, 13, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 27,
31, 62, 63, 66, 69, 72, 75, 78, 80.

B. 49, 55, 59 (*his*), 60, 61, 62, 65, 67, 68, 69, 77,
86, 89, 111, 140 ? 141, 145, 160.

Armour (*body*).—L. 18, 19, 28, 64, 73, 78.

B. 49, 55, 60, 62, 77, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 95, 99,
145.

Helmet.—L. 10, 11, 13, 14, &c.

history and manners), and the writers of a later era, when the conflicts of Europe and Asia made the latter a continual subject of Grecian thought;—have afforded copious examples of contrast or correspondence, which serve to enliven the subject by interrupting the uniformity of mere description. But it is to the Holy Scriptures that the Author has chiefly looked for illustration; and he trusts that the number of passages on which the light of these monuments has been brought to bear, and the living portraitures of incidents and usages therein alluded to, which they present, not a few of which are singularly exact and interesting, will confer a value on the volume in the eyes of the Biblical Student, and show how important an auxiliary these archæological discoveries are to Sacred Literature.

Anxious to make these pages as complete, as well as interesting, an exponent of the present state of information concerning Assyria as possible, the Author has availed himself of the labours of others who have wrought in the same field. He has taken the liberty of citing at some length the brilliant discoveries of Col. Rawlinson; and he trusts that the very great value of the historic readings of that illustrious philologist, especially those confirmations of Inspired verity, the annals of Shalmaneser and Sennacherib, will be his apology for these quotations. To Mr. Fergusson's beautiful reasonings on the Assyrian and Persian Palaces, this volume is indebted for some important light on the architecture of the period and region.

The works of Mr. Layard and M. Botta require a

more detailed acknowledgment. Besides the original monuments in the British Museum, the *fac-simile* engravings of the sculptures excavated, which have been published in the great works of these gentlemen, constitute (as we before intimated) the materials from which this volume has been composed. To the respective texts of these authors, the present work is indebted for many valuable observations and references, especially to the "Nineveh and its Remains" of the former gentleman. In the second volume of that work, its learned author has partially gone over the same ground as that which is here examined; but the writer deems it proper to state that in no case has he referred to the observations of his predecessors in inquiry, until he had first examined the particular subject in question for himself, and formed his own opinion. The analysis of the bas-reliefs, before alluded to, will show that the present volume, whatever be its claims to correctness of description and deduction, is a work of independent research; while a glance through its pages will be sufficient to prove that it is no piracy of another's valued labours, even though in many cases it arrives at the same conclusions, and adduces the same illustrations.

The Author would acknowledge his obligation to many travellers who have described Oriental manners, and particularly those of Persia (a kingdom which has protracted to our own times a succession from the throne of Nimrod), and to none of these more than to Dr. Kitto, the experience and observation of whom, and his constant devotion of his great talents

to Biblical hermeneutics, have conferred a peculiar value on his numerous writings.

It has been thought desirable to preface the more immediate subject of the work by a brief summary of the physical characteristics of the region under review, and by a succinct summary of what we know of the history of the empire. For the former, Mr. Ainsworth's "*Assyria, Babylonia and Chaldea*," has been the principal authority. The reader will please to consider the first chapter, and part of the second, as somewhat introductory to the general subject.

The engravings, one hundred and fifty-eight in number, have been drawn and cut with the greatest care, and may be relied on for their minute accuracy.

LONDON, *May*, 1852.

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ASSYRIA.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

A land like your own land ; a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil-olive and of honey. 2 Kings xviii. 32.

THE elevated table-lands of Iran, the great Highlands of Western Asia, extend in a belt of considerable width, but of much greater length, from the course of the Indus to the shores of the Mediterranean, passing between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf, and between the Black Sea and the Levant. The eastern portion of this region is occupied by Afghanistan, the centre by Persia, the west by Turkey. For the most part its surface is capable of cultivation ; and though large tracts are now resigned to the rugged wildness of nature, in ancient times these supported a numerous, industrious, and energetic population ; and the whole region was the seat of mighty nations whose names are famous in history, though in general little else now remains to tell of their past greatness than the ruined remains of cities thickly scattered here and there, piles of massive architecture on which the suns of centuries

and millenniums have looked, uninhabited indeed for ages, yet still standing in mute and desolate grandeur.

Between the Caspian and the head of the Persian Gulf this great plateau of Iran, which had averaged a breadth of nearly 500 miles, becomes much narrower, scarcely retaining half that width; but at the same time it assumes a loftier elevation. An Alpine region commences, of ragged, conical, mountain masses, which increase in height as the traveller



MOUNT ARARAT.

proceeds to the north-west, until about midway between the southern extremities of the Caspian and the Black Seas, the renowned mountain of Ararat rears its snowy peaks to the skies. This is the loftiest land in Western Asia, the taller of its cones

attaining an elevation of more than 17,000 feet. The actual height of the mountain itself is, however, much less than this, for the table-land of Armenia, on which its base rests, is 7,000 feet above the level of the sea. Travellers speak in admiration of the grandeur of this famous peak. Sir Robert Ker Porter, who approached it from the north, paints in glowing colours the magnificence of the spectacle that met his eye when Ararat first burst upon the view, rising from a wide-spread verdant plain, watered by the clear and swift Araxes, and covered with populous villages. He enjoyed the unusual advantage of seeing the glorious mountain quite unveiled by clouds from the base to the summit, and the sparkling snow-white cones shining out in dazzling splendour against the clear blue sky.

From the southern side of this mountain ridges of lower elevation branch off to the south and south-west, inclosing the romantic and beautiful Lake Van, the ancient Arsissa, and then stretch away towards the south-east in a rugged region of precipitous peaks and deep romantic glens and valleys. This is the region of Koordistan, the home of the wild, savage, and free Koords, whose hand, like that of the sons of Ishmael, whom they much resemble, may be said to be against every man, and every man's hand against them.

The mountainous region that girds the base of Ararat gives birth to the great river-system of Western Asia, which, like most of the great water-sheds of this continent, is double. •The Euphrates and the Tigris flow nearly parallel to each other through a basin of

1,850 miles in length, and at its mouth fall by a common channel into the head of the Persian Gulf.*

This basin, at its upper part, has a breadth of 7° of longitude, from about 36½° E. to 43½° E., but narrows towards its lower extremity, where its width is not more than 1½°, from 48° E. to 49½° E. Into the area so bounded, however, the ridged and knotted mountain mass that incloses Lake Van, projects like a great promontory, dividing the sources of the Euphrates, which are on its northern side, from those of the Eastern Tigris, the Khabour, and the Zab, which fall from its southern declivities.

The Euphrates, from its springs near Mount Ararat, flows along to the westward for about 250 miles, vainly seeking an outlet through the mountain chain of Taurus that bounds its southern bank. At length the full river, its constituent branches having

* "We cannot refrain from making an observation on the historical effect of these systems of double rivers in Asia. We find that in the valley of the Nile civilization descended along its banks from one royal residence to another, from Meröe to Thebes, and thence to Memphis and Sais. But in the valleys of the double rivers of Asia we meet with double royal residences, double civilization, and double political systems, as Babylon and Nineveh respectively on the Euphrates and Tigris; Delhi and Il-Iassa with Brahmanism and Buddhism, on the river-system of the Ganges, and on the double river-systems of China, the southern and the northern empire, Ma-chin and Katai. When in the progress of time civilization descended these streams, and met at their conflux, or where they approach near to one another, the different degrees of perfection which it had attained, and the different turns it had taken, must have produced, as the nations came in contact with one another, a beneficial effect. The same observation applies to the fourth great system of double rivers, the Sir and Gihon, on the banks of which, in the centre of Asia, the same fact is repeated in the royal residences of Samarkand and Bokhara."—PENN. CYCL. II. 471.

united, precipitates itself through a chasm in the chain, but a few miles distant from the source of the Tigris. From this point the two sister rivers diverge, both, however, pursuing a general south-easterly course, and again approach, thus enclosing a large tract of level country, now the Turkish province of Algezira, but anciently known as Mesopotamia, a Greek version of its original Semitic name, Naharaim, signifying "The Two Rivers."

On the eastern bank of the Tigris, which separated it from the Mesopotamian plain, was situated, according to ancient geographers, Assyria proper, bounded on the north by the Niphates mountains (the modern Nebad Tagh), which separated it from Armenia, on the north-east by the Zagros chain (the mountains of Koordistan), which divided it from Media, and on the south-east and south by the provinces of Susiana and Babylonia, the flat alluvial districts which constitute the lower portion of the Euphratean basin.

The upper part of this region is rugged and mountainous, lying among the ridges and valleys that form the southern declivities of the Niphates mountains, which are in fact the eastern extremity of the great chain of Taurus. A range of hills, dividing the valley of the Tigris from that of the Khabour, descends along the banks of the former river nearly as far as Mosul; but to the south-west of this point a vast level plain stretches out from the river's banks to the bases of the Koordish mountains, similar in character as in appearance to the plains of Mesopotamia on the opposite bank. Low ranges of hills, of

sandstone, limestone, and gypsum, here and there break the uniformity of these plains, which are bounded by the Hamrun hills, not far from the 34th parallel of north latitude.

Three large tributary rivers fall into the Tigris from the east, within this region, the Khabour, the Greater Zab, and the Lesser Zab. These all have their sources in the lofty snow-clad mountains of northern Koordistan; the course of the Khabour (called, to distinguish it from a river of the same name that flows into the Euphrates, the *Upper* Khabour), however, has not been traced throughout its length. The greater Zab, the principal river of Assyria after the Tigris, rises in the elevated plateau between Lakes Van and Urumiyah, at a level of 7,000 feet above the sea. It pursues a winding course of 200 miles, chiefly among the mountains, receives several tributaries, and falls, a stream of 60 feet in width, into the Tigris, in 36° north latitude.

The Lesser Zab has its principal sources about 20 miles south of the extremity of Lake Urumiyah; it has a course of about 100 miles, and pours into its superior a deep and rapid stream 25 feet broad. The Tigris itself has at this point a width of 1,500 feet.*

The physical characteristics of the country under consideration, the original home of the renowned Assyrian nation, differ with the varying elevation of surface. Mr. Ainsworth, who has personally examined it with great skill and acumen, divides it into two districts, that of the mountains, and that

* Or, about half as wide again as the Thames at London Bridge.

of the sandy plains; the low alluvial plains of Susiana and Babylonia are at present excluded from our examination.

The mountainous region around Lake Van, including the sources of the Tigris and the Greater Zab, have a tolerably uniform geological structure. Granite rocks are met with, but the igneous rocks, considered to belong to the later formations, predominate. These mountains are not deficient in metals. At Divrigi, on one of the tributaries of the Upper Euphrates, vast masses of native iron, 3 feet thick, are found. A little lower down on the same river there are silver-mines, with the following ores,—argentiferous galena, a sulphuret of lead, silver, antimony, and iron; a sulphuret of antimony and silver. Near the sources of the Tigris there are copper-mines, said to yield 2,250,000 lbs. annually. Silver-mines occur again to the eastward of the same range. The lofty Koordish mountains between the great lakes and the Tigris present similar conformations. In the valley of the Greater Zab there are veins of lead, which are worked.

The hilly country merging into uneven plains, between the mountains and the banks of the Tigris, consists almost wholly of chalk, and the overlying deposits, interrupted here and there by igneous rocks. At Hit are celebrated fountains of naphtha and bitumen in a magnesian limestone. In the neighbourhood of Mosul red sands and sandstones prevail, and extend to the Hamrun hills. The Kufri hills to the south-west of the Lesser Zab are composed of fresh-water limestones, gypsum, and

sandstone, with deposits of bitumen, naphtha, sulphur, and salt. There are burning fountains of naphtha here, and at the pass of the Tigris through the Hamrun hills.

The botany of Mount Taurus is particularly rich, especially in its trees and shrubs, but this is chiefly true of its central and northern districts; the southern parts, with which we have principally to do, are comparatively defective. Pines, oaks, and ashes, are the most abundant forest-trees, and the sides of the mountains are often well-wooded with these to their summits. The walnut and the mulberry are also common. The plane attains an enormous size. The declivities that face the south are sheeted with vineyards and orchards; pears, apples, apricots, plums, figs, almonds, and olives yield their fruits in abundance, and of excellent quality. Wheat and barley are cultivated with success. Many of the beautiful flowering plants and bulbs of our gardens have their native country here; the daphne, the myrtle, the olcander, the guelder rose, the tree pink, the clematis, the jasmine, the honeysuckle, and the rhododendron, are enumerated among the wild plants and shrubs; and some of the sheltered valleys are said, in spring, to be as gay as a flower-garden with the brilliant blossoms of bulbous and herbaceous plants.

On the hills and plains there is a great scarcity of timber-trees, and the annual or tender plants are few; "the tough stems of perennials alone seem able to withstand the excessive variations of temperature." Wormwood is characteristic of this

region; and plants of the families *Boraginæ* and *Cruciferae* abound, with species of *Astragalus* and *Mimosa*.

“For two months in the year, namely October and November, vegetation is at a stand-still; everything is burnt up, and no new forms appear: but after this period the *Nile* clouds from the Lebanon in Syria, and reverses in the mountain temperatures to the north and east over Mesopotamia and Adiabene, bring down moderate but refreshing rain. The brown and fallow colour of the soil changes; grasses begin to spread and increase; and, notwithstanding the subsequent frost and storm, some *Compositæ* bud, but do not flower. But the succession of vegetation is kept up by those families which have succulent roots, nodes, or bulbs, which preserve moisture so as to ensure life even amidst the most arid soil. Sleeping during the summer heats, they awake to activity with the first rains, and some send forth prematurely their leaves, or even their buds, in October. Among these are a colchicum, a tulip, a crocus, an ixia, and an arum. • They are soon, however, enveloped in snow, or blasted by the wintry winds; till early in spring, when the same precocious flowers make their appearance with all that vivid beauty of colour and variety of form which have lent to the poet and the painter their not always fabulous pictures of the East.”*

In spring, plants of the families *Liliaceæ*, *Amaryllidaceæ*, and their allies, are abundant; in summer, woolly, thorny, prickly, and spinous species prevail;

* Ainsworth's *Assyria, Babylonia, and Chalden*, p. 33.

thistles of various genera cover whole districts with their aculeated foliage, and tufted heads of blossom. Aromatic herbs of the Labiate family also characterize the plains, as various species of thyme, marjoram, betony, mint, &c. Two species of liquorice (*Glycyrrhiza*) are common on cultivated lands.

The kinds of grain and pulse that are fit for the food of man are unusually numerous in these primeval seats of human habitation. Mr. Ainsworth enumerates wheat, barley, guinea-corn (*Holchus* of two kinds), lentils, chick-peas, two kinds of vetches, peas (*Lathyrus sativus*), kidney-beans, and medick. Esculent vegetables include most of the pot-herbs used in Europe, several sorts of cucumbers, gourds, melons, pumpkins, and squashes, the ochro (*Hibiscus esculentus*), the egg-plant or love-apple, and the tomato (*Solanum melongena* and *lycopersicum*), and a species of mushroom or truffle, which is so abundant as to constitute the principal food of the Bedouins in spring.*

The fields furnish capers, borage, mallows, sour docks (*Rumex acetosa*), water-cress, wild-mustard, asparagus, Syrian hart-wort (*Tordylium Syriacum*), and many other plants useful as salads or condiments. Around Mosul, the gummy roots of a species of *Scorzonera* afford a plentiful nutriment. The leaves of lettuces, sow-thistles, and thistles are eaten, as are also the bulbs and corms of onions, crocuses, and hyacinths. Tobacco is cultivated, as are also sesame, the castor-oil shrub, hemp, fenugreek, cotton, and

* Burekhardt, Addison, &c.

bastard saffron (*Carthamus tinctorius*). The leaves of a gigantic *Arum* are used as paper; henna, with which the Oriental women dye their finger-nails, is obtained from *Lawsonia inermis*; and gum tragacanth from *Astragali*, of no fewer than twelve species. The members of the Euphrates Exploring Expedition often used a wild kind of *Atriplex* as a culinary vegetable: its taste resembled that of spinach, to which it is botanically allied.

Among the fruits of the Assyrian plains are enumerated the olive, the white and black mulberries, the pomegranate, the fig, the cherry, the apricot, several sorts of plums, the peach, the almond, the apple, the pear, the quince, the cornel cherry, the jujube (*Rhamnus ziziphus*), the walnut, the pistachio, the chestnut, the filbert, the great seeds of *Pinus cembra*, &c.

The zoology of these regions is rich and extensive, but though its more prominent features have long been familiar to science, its more minute but not less interesting developments have not yet been thoroughly explored, especially in the mountains, the natural history of which is still almost unknown in detail.

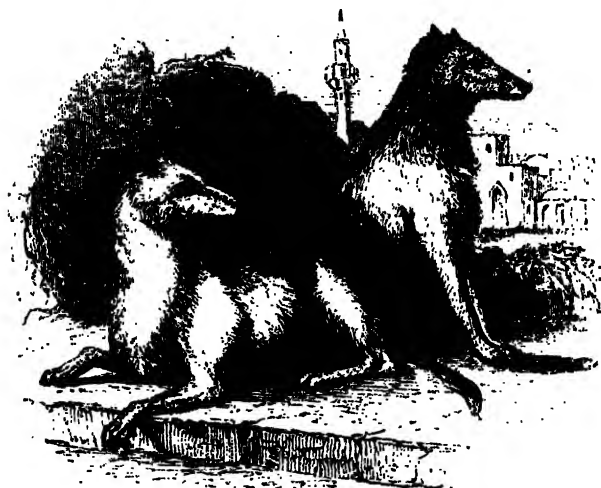
Bats are numerous, as they are in all warm countries; the species are small, and the forms not very different from those common to Europe. A hedgehog and a small shrew represent the *Insectivora*. The greater cats inhabit this region; the majestic lion, that emblem of the Assyrian monarchy, stalks over the midnight plains; the leopard is spread over the mountain region of Taurus, though it seems to

be not abundant; and even the tiger, now rarely seen to the west of the Indus, yet lingers in these lofty fastnesses. Hyrcania, the region lying to the south of the Caspian sea, was anciently famous for this formidable but beautiful animal, and we have modern evidence that it inhabits Mount Ararat. Tournefort states that the sides of this mountain, even almost up to the line of perpetual snow, are infested by tigers, and declares that he saw them within 700 yards of him.* According to the same authority, the young ones are caught in traps by the people around the base of the mountain, to be exhibited in shows of wild beasts throughout Persia. A hunting leopard, which seems to differ from the common maned species, and named *Felis venatica*, is not uncommon in the lower part of the plains. It climbs trees with facility notwithstanding the imperfect retractility of the claws. Three species of lynx are common, the Spanish lynx (*F. pardina*), the chaus, and the caracal. The last named is said to be trained for the chase, like the hunting leopard, and is believed to be the species indicated under the term "lynx" by the ancients. It chiefly inhabits woody districts.

The wolf is common in the mountains, but in the plains is replaced by an allied species, the Tartarian wolf. The jackal is abundant, and so is the fox. Like the wolf it is the European species that is met with in Taurus, but on the rivers a distinct species takes its place. The striped hyæna is common in

* Morier mentions among the wild animals of Ararat, bears, small tigers, lynxes, and lions.

all parts, creeping stealthily around the mounds and ruins that are so numerous; and prowling by night around the village burying-grounds for its obscene meal. Several species of bears, both black and brown, are ascribed to the Armenian and Koordish mountains. In the towns great numbers of dogs are seen, as through all Western Asia, of the breed com-



BAZAAR DOG.

monly called the Bazaar-dog; they are protected and fed, sometimes at the public expense, in spite of the Moslem prejudice which counts the touch of a dog a defilement. The Turkoman watch-dog, "a large, rugged, fierce race, equalling the wolf in stature, shaped like the Irish greyhound, and with equally powerful jaws,"—with erect ears, bushy tail, and

rufous hair,—is the common attendant of the herdsmen.

Many species of the weasel family, as the ratel, the sable, and the genet, the ichneumon, the polecat, and the marten, occur in greater or less abundance, chiefly in the higher districts; and an otter inhabits the large rivers.

The order *Rodentia* is, more than any other, characteristic of these regions, though the species are not yet properly identified. They include rats and mice, dormice, marmots of several genera, which, with squirrels, tenant the elevated forests, while the plains teem with those leaping rats, called jerboas and gerbills (*Dipus* and *Gerbillus*), of many kinds, which in their figure, proportions, and motions resemble the kangaroos of Australia. The mole-rat (*Spalax*), a curious animal, almost shapeless, and totally blind, burrows abundantly in the plains of Koordistan. Two kinds of hare and a rabbit also are found here; the beaver inhabits the larger rivers, and the porcupine is common in waste and ruined places. This is doubtless the animal named קִפּוֹד (*kippod*), infelicitously rendered “bittern” in our version, which, it was predicted, should possess ruined Nineveh, as well as Babylon and Bozrah. (Zeph. ii. 14; Isa. xiv. 23; xxxiv. 11.)

Wild boars are abundant, especially in the valleys, and in the vicinity of cultivation, often doing great damage, not only by devouring, but by rooting up and trampling under foot, the crops. A wild horse (*Equus hemionus*), mule-like in form, of a yellowish bay hue, scours the plains, as does also the

wild ass; both are so fleet as to be with difficulty taken. Mr. Morier thus describes the appearance of the latter. "On the desert . . . in the grey of the morning, we gave chase to two wild asses, which had so much the speed of our horses, that when they had got at some distance, they stood still and looked behind at us, snorting with their noses in the air, as if in contempt of our endeavours to catch them. The Persians sometimes succeed in killing them, but not without great dexterity and knowledge of their haunts. To effect this, they place relays of horsemen and dogs upon the track which they are known to pursue, and then hunt them toward the relays, when the fresh dogs and horses are started upon the half exhausted animal."*

There are two breeds of both the horse and the ass in a state of domestication; of the former, the elegant and swift Arab, and the stouter Turkoman; of the latter, the common Oriental ass, larger and nobler than ours, and the long-bodied Damascus breed. The northern camel with two humps, and the Arabian camel with one, are both bred.

Several varieties of the Bovine races are common to the country, including, besides the ordinary breeds of kind, the humped species, and the Buffalo. The great-tailed Tartarian sheep and the Bedouin sheep represent the tame breeds of these useful animals, and there is a wild sheep in the mountains. Three beautiful sorts of goat exist, including the fine-woolled Angora goat; and the impregnable rocky heights of Koordistan and Taurus are the home of at least

* Second Journey, p. 200.

three species of Ibex (*Capra ibex*, *C. ægagrus*, and *C. Caucasica*), which are so often represented in the Assyrian sculptures, and whose enormous knotted horns, the trophies of the chase, are used to adorn the houses of the hardy mountaineers in these districts.



All the kinds of deer which we know in this country occur in the northern parts of Assyria, the stag, the fallow-deer, and the roebuck; the two former are represented in the bas-reliefs. The gazelle, the emblem of female elegance and beauty, ranges the plains, and another antelope replaces it in the mountains.

In ornithology the resemblance to European forms is so great, especially in the northern districts, that the naturalist would scarcely believe, but for a few unfamiliar types, that he was not among the feathered

songsters of his own country: the majority, even of the species, being absolutely the same. Thus the osprey, kite, kestrel and gentil falcon; the griffon and Egyptian vulture; the passerine, barn, and eagle owls; the raven, carrion-crow, hooded-crow, jackdaw, magpie, and oriole; the song-thrush, blackbird, ring-ouzel, missel-thrush, and water-ouzel; the warblers, fire-crest wrens, chats, wagtails, larks, tits, buntings, sparrows and finches; the cuckoo, the woodpecker, the wryneck, and the hoopoe; the bee-eater: the nightjar; the Barbary dove and the turtle; the wood pigeon, and the domestic pigeon; the red-legged, Barbary, and common partridges; the quail; the pheasant (wild in its native region); the great bustard; the plovers, sandpipers and snipes, herons and rails; the ducks and grebes; are all common European, and almost all British, birds, and these constitute nearly the whole ornithology recorded as characterizing this region.

It has, however, some peculiarities. The ostrich, formerly abundant on the arid deserts of Mesopotamia and Assyria, has not quite disappeared; at least if we may credit the testimony of Herbert, who says that he saw ostriches in the plains between Lar and Shiraz. Mr. Ainsworth also implies that it still exists, though rare. Its occurrence in the mythological bas-reliefs of Nineveh, proves that it was familiar to the ancient Assyrians. A starling of much brilliancy of plumage, a blue-headed bee-eater, three species of king-fisher, and several of the doves, are peculiar. The *Pterocles arenarius*, and the *Syrrhaptes paradoxus*, birds allied to the partridges, but pre-

senting curious anomalies of structure, occur in the plains, the former in flocks of associated millions. There is a pheasant in the forests distinct from *Ph. Colchicus*, and some of the bustards are peculiar. The beautiful Sultana of North Africa (*Porphyrio hyacinthinus*) is common on the broad rivers, as is the large white pelican.

Reptiles, according to Mr. Ainsworth, are numerous. Two species of land-tortoise occur on the plains, one of which resembles *Testudo Græca*: two kinds of marsh-tortoise (*Emys*), and one of *Trionyx*, are found in the Euphrates, and are probably common to the Tigris also. Among ruins three species of gecko have been noticed, and the common chameleon is found in sheltered woods. In the open country the lizard and iguana families prevail, with many forms of the serpent races. Wherever rock, clay, or sand has the slightest tendency to vegetation, there insects prosper, and lizards make their appearance. The fundamental forms assumed on the plains are large bodies and big heads, with a skin lubricated and defended from the sun by a natural exudation. The narrow, smooth, and long forms of lizards do not prosper on sterile and arid spots. Agamas of the same species, reappear at intervals over large tracts of country, and they furnish on these plains nourishment to various mammalia and birds. It appears also that the numerous large non-venomous serpents which frequent these plains are fed by these insectivorous lizards. Vipers and snakes confine themselves more to the small *Rodentia*.*

* Ainsworth's Assyria, &c., p. 45.

The immense numbers of small lizards found in these and the surrounding regions, have been noticed by many travellers. Major Skinner, speaking of the desert of Syria, observes,—“The ground is teeming with lizards; the sun seems to draw them from the earth; for sometimes, when I have fixed my eye upon one spot, I have fancied that the sands were getting into life, so many of these creatures at once crept from their holes.” Bruce is still more explicit. “I am positive that I can say without exaggeration, that the number I saw one day, in the great court of the Temple of the Sun at Baalbec, amounted to many thousands: the ground, the walls, the stones of the ruined buildings, were covered with them; and the various colours of which they consisted, made a very extraordinary appearance, glittering under the sun, in which they lay sleeping and basking.”

Little seems recorded concerning the fishes of Assyria; though doubtless the rivers and mountain streams are well supplied. Most of those which have been recognized belong to the great carp tribe, or to some of its sub-genera. The barbel, the chub, and the loach are mentioned; the binny or scaly carp (*Cyprinus lepidotus*), a fine fish much esteemed, is abundant, as it is throughout Western Asia. The celebrated black-fish is stated by Mr. Ainsworth to be a *Macropteronotus*, a genus of the Silure family, which is also represented by other species in these waters. Trout are common in the mountain streams.

Insects are numerous, but still require investiga-

tion. Among the beetles, of which two hundred species were collected by Dr. Helfer after the rains, many genera, supposed to be peculiar to the northern and temperate parts of Europe, occur. Such are the brachelytrous beetles, seven hundred species of which belong to Britain, and of which our common black rove-beetle, or cock-tail, is a familiar example; of these, forty species were met with. *Carabus Hemprishei* is one of the most common insects of the plains. In spring the Heteromorous division of beetles is characteristic of the region, especially the *Melastomata*, of which our common churchyard beetle (*Blaps mortisaga*) is an example. The genus *Pimelia* and its allies are numerous. Weevils (*Curculionidæ*), and lady-birds (*Coccinelladæ*), are in considerable abundance: the chafers (*Lamellicornes*) are rather scarce, with the exception of the little genus *Aphodius* (small dung-chafers common in our pastures in spring), which occurs at certain seasons in swarming flights like locusts. Locusts and grasshoppers of many kinds are abundant during the dry months. Many fine butterflies are peculiar to this region, and some are shared in common with Europe; others are Indian types. Dragon-flies and other lace-winged flies are numerous along the borders of the rivers. Bees, wasps, ants, flies, and gnats, are also common; and parasitic insects swarm in the filthy huts of the inhabitants to a degree hardly imaginable by an untravelled European.

The climate, as might be supposed from the nature of the country, its elevation, and its distance from the sea is marked by great extremes of heat

and cold, and by absence of moisture. In the mountains there is a great accumulation of snow during the winter, which remains long after vegetation has commenced in spring. The influence of warm days and cold frosty nights in spring is to forward vegetation, and yet preserve the snow. In crossing the Marash hills (near the head of the Tigris), in February, Mr. Ainsworth found the snow from two to three feet deep, and so hard as to bear a horse; yet in occasional bare spots, crocuses were in flower, and spiders were running about. At the same time, in sheltered valleys, *Daphne*, *Euphorbia*, and bright and various coloured anemones, were in full bloom. The summer heat is often excessive in these valleys, from the radiation and reflection of the sun's rays.

In the plains also there are considerable variations of temperature. "From the Mediterranean to the Tigris there is an increase of cold in the same parallels, from west to east. . . This is not the case, however, in the plains east of the Tigris, which, sheltered by the Koordish mountains, have a more temperate winter. The influence of Taurus, clad for so many months with snow, is considerable in reducing the winter temperature; and on the plains of North Syria and of Mesopotamia, from the want of protecting hills, causes the vegetation to be in reality less southern than that of Sicily and Andalusia. At the same time, the long extent of littoral mountains, Ananus, Casius, and Lebanon, add to these unfavourable circumstances by impeding the passage of mild air from the Mediterranean. Notwithstanding these circumstances, the direct heat of

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the sun, increased by radiation and equality of level, is almost without a moderating influence, for evaporation is nearly null, and hence, where the winter temperature is so low, the summer heats are intense.* The traveller whom we are citing, states that in the month of August, the thermometer was observed as high as 115° (Fahr.) in the shade, and in winter as low as 12° , which gives an annual range of temperature of more than 100° .

To these excessive variations of temperature, and to the proximity of lofty snow-covered ranges of mountains it is probably owing that this region is subject to sudden tempests which rage with terrific violence. The Exploring Expedition was caught unawares in one of these tornados, and before a place of shelter could be gained, one of the steamers was overwhelmed and sunk, with the greater part of her brave crew. The atmosphere, during its brief but terrible continuance, was so darkened, that though the vessel was within a short distance of the river's bank, several persons who could swim are believed to have been drowned, from not knowing in what direction to make for the shore.

We shall conclude our observations on the physical characteristics of this region by a vivid picture of the Assyrian plains at two seasons of the year, sketched by the accomplished Mr. Layard.

"The middle of March in Mesopotamia is the brightest epoch of spring. A new change had come over the face of the plain of Nimroud. Its pasture lands known as the 'Jaif,' are renowned for their

* Ainsworth's Assyria, &c., p. 31.

rich and luxuriant herbage. In times of quiet the studs of the Pasha, and of the Turkish authorities, with the horses of the cavalry and of the inhabitants of Mosul, are sent here to graze. Day by day they arrived in long lines. The Shemutti and Jehesh left their huts, and encamped on the greensward which surrounded the villages. The plain, as far as the eye could reach, was studded with the white pavilions of the Hytas, and the black tents of the Arabs. Picketed around them were innumerable horses in gay trappings, struggling to release themselves from the bonds which restrained them from ranging over the green pastures.

“Flowers of every hue enamelled the meadows; not thinly scattered over the grass as in northern climes, but in such thick and gathering clusters that the whole plain seemed a patchwork of many colours. The dogs, as they returned from hunting, issued from the long grass dyed red, yellow, or blue, according to the flowers through which they had last forced their way.”

Some six weeks have elapsed, and the traveller thus records the change of circumstances. “The heats of summer had now commenced, and it was no longer possible to live under a white tent. The huts were equally uninhabitable, and still swarmed with vermin. In this dilemma I ordered a recess to be cut into the bank of the river, where it rose perpendicularly from the water’s edge. By screening the front with reeds and boughs of trees, and covering the whole with similar materials, a small room was formed. I was much troubled, however, with

scorpions and other reptiles, which issued from the earth forming the walls of my apartment; and later in the summer, by the gnats and sand-flies which hovered in a calm night over the river. . . . The change to summer had been as rapid as that which ushered in the spring. The verdure of the plain had perished almost in a day. Hot winds coming from the desert, had burned up and carried away the shrubs; flights of locusts, darkening the air, had destroyed the few patches of cultivation, and had completed the havoc commenced by the heat of the sun. The Abou-Salman Arabs, having struck their black tents, were now living in sheds, constructed of reeds and grass along the banks of the river. The Shemutti and Jehesh had returned to their villages; and the plain presented the same naked and desolate aspect that it had worn in the month of November. The heat, however, was now almost intolerable. Violent whirlwinds occasionally swept over the face of the country. They could be seen, as they advanced from the desert, carrying along with them clouds of sand and dust. Almost utter darkness prevailed during their passage, which lasted generally about an hour, and nothing could resist their fury. On returning home one afternoon, after a tempest of this kind, I found no traces of my dwellings; they had been completely carried away. Ponderous wooden frameworks had been borne over the bank, and hurled some hundred yards distant; the tents had disappeared, and my furniture was scattered over the plain. When on the mound, my only secure place of refuge was beneath the fallen

lion [one of the magnificent pieces of ancient colossal sculpture, which had been recently exhumed],—where I could defy the fury of the whirlwind: the Arabs ceased from their work, and crouched in the trenches, almost suffocated and blinded by the dense cloud of fine dust and sand, which nothing could exclude.”*

* Nineveh and its Remains, i. 77, 123.



THE TIGRIS NEAR NINEVEH.

HISTORY.

Behold, the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature ; and his top was among the thick boughs. Ezek. xxxi. 3.

It was from the mountains of Ararat, on which the ark of Noah rested, that the fathers of the new world descended to repopulate the earth after its destruction by the flood. The early fathers supposed,—and several passages of Scripture, as well as probability, countenance the supposition,—that the distribution of the families of mankind over the various regions of the earth was not left to be fortuitously determined, as accident or caprice might direct their wanderings, but that a formal division of the earth was made by Noah into three portions, one of which was assigned to each of his sons with his posterity. The name given to Peleg, “because in his days the earth was divided” (Gen. x. 25.), would seem to be a memorial of this transaction, and would indicate that it took place about a century after the deluge, when men were beginning to multiply sufficiently to form colonies and settlements, but while Noah, the common progenitor, was yet in the vigour of his life. The following are the other passages which countenance this opinion :

When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel. Deut. xxxii. 8.

God that made the world and all things therein, . . . hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. Acts xvii. 24—26.

Dr. Hales cites in confirmation an ancient Armenian tradition, found in Abulfaragius, a learned Syrian of the thirteenth century, which is highly curious and interesting, as an independent testimony existing in the very region where the event must have occurred, and as agreeing almost exactly with the local distribution of the great races of men according to the researches of modern ethnologists.

The earth, according to this account, was apportioned into three zones; the northern, the central, and the southern; the first, or the region of the ruddy men, being assigned to Japheth; the second, the region of the tawny, to Shem; the third, the region of the blacks, to Ham. "To the sons of Shem was allotted the middle region of the earth, viz., Palestine, Syria, Assyria, Samaria (Shinar?) Babel (or Babylonia), Persia, and Hedjaz (Arabia). To the sons of Ham, Teman (or Idumca), Africa, Nigritia, Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia, Scindia and India (or India west and east of the Indus). To the sons of Japheth, also, Garbia (the north), Spain, France, the countries of the Grecks, Sclavonians, Bulgarians, Turks, and Armenians."

The whole of the region, then, described in the preceding chapter, formed part of the allotment of

Shem; but here, in defiance of the divine decree, one of the sons of Ham, Nimrod, "a mighty hunter," determined to set up kingly rule, and to establish his own dominion. His name, signifying "a rebel," has been supposed to refer to this usurpation; and tradition, both Jewish and Gentile, is profuse in legends of the power, haughtiness, cruelty and idolatry of this first "king of men." The sacred narrative, however, is very laconic. Its information concerning the settlement of these regions, and the erection of the two greatest and most renowned empires of ancient history, is comprised in the following words:—

And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the LORD: wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the LORD. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city. Gen. x. 8—12.

The words "went forth Asshur," may be rendered, with equal propriety, "he (that is, Nimrod) went forth into Assyria," as the margin of our version gives it. According to the received reading, it might imply either that Asshur, the son of Shem, driven from Babylonia, by Nimrod's usurped power, settled in the country a little to the north, but still a part of his own territory, or that, as some with less probability hold, the person so named was a lieutenant of Nimrod, who went out to subdue and colonize the region for his master. According to the marginal rendering, Nimrod himself, for some reason or other,

migrated from the land of Shinar, after having commenced his kingdom there, and founded new cities and seats of power on the banks of the upper Tigris. The words "the *beginning* of his kingdom was Babel," &c., seem to favour this reading.

Assyria, moreover, is expressly called "the land of Nimrod" by the prophet Micah.

And they shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof: thus shall he deliver us from the Assyrian, when he cometh into our land, and when he treadeth within our borders. Mic. v. 6.

The recent resuscitation of the ancient Assyrian language, and the discovery that it, as well as the Babylonian, was closely allied with the Hebrew, and therefore of Semitic origin, appear to us to furnish a strong argument that the Cushite supremacy was *not* extended to Assyria, and that it was of no long duration in Babylonia.*

The chief deity in the Assyrian mythology was Assarah, or Assarac, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more particularly. This was, in all probability, the Asshur of the sacred Scriptures, who, after his death, according to a common ancient custom, was placed in the Pantheon of his idolatrous

* The structure of the Assyrian, or rather the cuneiform, writing, so remarkably like that of the Egyptian, that Col. Rawlinson considers it evidently of Egyptian origin, combined with the employment of a written character totally dissimilar, suggests interesting considerations. A Semitic language, an Egyptian (perhaps it would be more correct to say a *Hamitic*) system of writing, and a peculiar character, all marking one and the same race of men, are certainly conditions of remarkable interest, and not a little difficulty, to the philologist and ethnologist. (See Rawlinson, *On the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Assyria, &c.*, p. 4.)

descendants, and worshipped as "the father of the

After this brief notice of the settlement of Assyria, the word of God is silent respecting the history of that country for many centuries. It is just possible that the Chushan-rishathaim, who is called king of Mesopotamia (Aram-naharaim), and who kept the Israelites in servitude for eight years, in the early days of the Judges (Judg. iii. 8), was an Assyrian monarch, as the distance of the Hebrew people from his own country, would scarcely have allowed of their subjugation, unless he had already conquered the nations west of the Euphrates, and in his own immediate neighbourhood. A few years before, in the famous prophecy of Balaam (Numb. xxiv. 22), the tyrannical conquest of other nations by the Assyrian power is hinted at, as if well known; though the allusion may be anticipative.

The silence of Holy Scripture, however, does not, by any means, prove the non-existence of an Assyrian empire during the earlier history of the Jewish nation, and its progenitors. For the object of the inspired records is not profane history; and, but for the connexion of Israel with other nations, no Gentile power, however mighty, illustrious, or ancient, is deemed worthy of notice in them. Such connexion did not occur until about the ninth century before the Christian era.

The national annals of Assyria, lately recovered, and still in process of being exhumed, are now read in their original autographs; and the world may expect, at no distant date, to peruse a history of

that ancient nation transcribed from her own royal chronicles. Until these are published in a connected form, with a chronology measurable from some recognised starting-points, we must be content with the vague, always uncertain, often mythical and fabulous, accounts preserved in fragments by Grecian writers.

According to them, Ninus was the first king who extended his dominion beyond the bounds of Assyria proper. He conquered Babylon, which, up to that time, had been an independent kingdom, and subjected it to his own dominions. He is reported also to have subdued Media, Armenia, Bactria, Asia Minor, and even Egypt, the Indians alone maintaining a successful resistance. A magnificent city, called by his own name, is reported to have been founded by him. 16, 423

Ninus was succeeded by Semiramis, his widow, a great and magnanimous princess; bold, enterprising, and successful; of whom the most extravagant exploits have been narrated. It appears, however, that there were two queens of this name, who flourished at widely distant periods. The second Semiramis is reported to have lived five generations before Nitocris, the queen-consort of Nebuchadnezzar. The earlier, after a long and martial reign, during which her arms penetrated even to Upper Egypt and Ethiopia, left the Assyrian crown to her son Ninyas, who preferred luxurious ease and indulgence to the excitement of martial glory.

A long line of successors (amounting to twenty in all, according to Diodorus, to twenty-five according

to Ctesias) followed the inglorious example; they ascended the throne, lived in indolence, and died in their palaces at Nineveh. In the reign of Teutames, one of these, the siege of Troy occurred. Ctesias, and other Greek writers, affirm that Troy was at that time a vassal of the Assyrian empire; * which seems hardly consistent with the *universality* of the character of effeminacy attributed to the Ninevite monarchs. The Trojan king applied for aid, and received a subsidy of twenty thousand foot, and two hundred chariots, placed under the command of Memnon, the son of Tithonus, the president of Persia.

Sardanapalus was the last of the dynasty; the weakest, the most effeminate, the most voluptuous of the whole. His feeble character prompted Arbaces, the warlike governor of Media, to raise the standard of revolt, in which he was assisted by Belsys, a Chaldean priest, who encouraged the Babylonians to assert their independence also. These powerful provinces, aided by the Persians and other allies, who abhorred the tyranny or despised the effeminacy of their Assyrian masters, attacked the empire on all sides. They were not at once successful; but having defeated the Assyrian army, they besieged Sardanapalus in his metropolis, Nineveh, which at length fell into their hands, and thus ended the first Assyrian empire.

The account given by Ctesias of the end of this prince is sufficiently romantic. He relied upon an ancient oracle that Nineveh was impregnable unless

* Neither Homer nor Herodotus alludes to this connexion of Troy with Assyria.

the river itself became her enemy.* But after the rebel armies had besieged the city for two years, the Tigris, overflowing its banks, undermined the walls for a space of twenty furlongs, which falling, left the city exposed to the enemy. The terms of the oracle were now fulfilled; and the despairing monarch, only solicitous that his person and possessions might not fall into the hands of his infuriate foes, collected his treasures and precious things, his wives and concubines, within his palace, in which he had prepared a huge heap of combustibles. With his own hand he applied the torch to the pile, and thus perished with all that in life he had been accustomed to hold dear.

It has been remarked† that an event in many respects similar to this had occurred about a century before in the history of Israel, the fame of which spreading throughout the East, may have suggested to the King of Assyria the mode of his suicide. The sacred historian thus narrates the termination of Zimri's short but bloody reign.

And it came to pass, when Zimri saw that the city was taken, that he went into the palace of the king's house, and burnt the king's house over him with fire, and died. 1 Kings xvi. 18.

The conquest of Nineveh, and the overthrow of the Assyrian dynasty, was not the destruction of Assyria. The empire indeed was disintegrated, and

* The reader may compare the prophecy of Nahum. "The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved." (Nahum ii. 6.)

† Blackburn's *Nineveh ; its Rise and Ruin*, p. 50.

the constituent provinces of Media, Babylonia, and Assyria proper, were again erected into separate kingdoms, the two latter tributary, at first, to the former, but destined soon to attain their independence. About this period the history of the Assyrian monarchy is brought into view in the Holy Scriptures, by its coming into contact with the Hebrew race; but whether the earlier of the kings mentioned in Scripture be assigned to the first or to the second dynasty, must depend upon the chronological date of Sardanapalus' death, about which the learned are not agreed, even within a century. The statements of Ctesias would place this event as early as B. c. 876; those of Herodotus would throw it forward to B. c. 711.

The wickedness of the city of Nineveh, "an exceeding great city," had become flagrant, and its cry had gone up to God, when He sent his servant Jonah from Galilee to prophesy against it. According to the chronology of our English Bible this was about B. c. 862. The awful denunciation, "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown," penetrated the palace of the monarch, and brought him to repentance, and thus averted for a while the threatened doom. As in many other cases, Jehovah hastened to show that judgment was his strange work, and that He delighted in mercy.

And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not. *Jonah* iii. 10.

For nearly a hundred years after this event, we

hear no more of Assyria; but about the year B.C. 770, the increasing wickedness of Samaria, both king and people, provoked the Lord to stir up against his rebellious heritage the fierce conquerors on the Tigris, and to give them a forewarning of the fate which He had in store for them, if they persevered in apostasy. It was in the reign of the cruel Menahem, that Israel first saw the face of an Assyrian invader.

Pul the king of Assyria came against the land: and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him, to confirm the kingdom in his hand. And Menahem exacted the money of Israel, even of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give to the king of Assyria. So the king of Assyria turned back, and stayed not there in the land. 2 Kings xv. 19, 20.

Sir Isaac Newton and Dr. Hales have conjectured that at the death of Pul his dominions were divided between his two sons; the throne of Assyria passing to Tiglath-pileser, and that of Babylon to Nabonassar. Dean Pridcaux, on the other hand, supposes Tiglath-pileser to be the Arbaces of the Greek writers, and Nabonassar to be Belesys. It is however agreed that these princes were contemporary, and that the famous era of Nabonassar commenced in B.C. 747.

In the sixth year of Tiglath-pileser, the dissensions existing between Judah and Israel enabled the Assyrian monarch to interfere to the ultimate weakening of both. For though his aid was asked, and professedly given to the king of Judah, yet, as is generally the case with such interposition, we are expressly told that "the King of Assyria came unto

him and distressed him, but strengthened him not." (2 Chron. xxviii. 20). The occasion of the interference is thus narrated:

Then Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel, came up to Jerusalem to war: and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him. . . . So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son: come up, and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me. And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria. And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him: for the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin. 2 Kings xvi. 5-9.

This deportation of the Syrians (in accordance with prophecy, Amos i. 5) was not the only result of the expedition; for, either at the same time or soon after, many of the tribes of Israel were rooted up out of their land, and carried away into a captivity from which they never returned. The trans-Jordanic tribes seem to have been first taken, separated as they were from their brethren, and exposed by their frontier position.

And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit . . . of Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan, unto this day. 1 Chron. v. 26.

The inhabitants of Galilee soon followed; perhaps in another expedition:—for

In the days of Pekah king of Israel, came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria. 2 Kings xv. 29.

In the year B.C. 729, Tiglath-pileser was succeeded by Shalmaneser or Enemessar. He completed the deportation of the ten tribes, begun by his predecessor; for, laying siege to Samaria, he took it after three years, and carried the remnant of the people into the mountains of Assyria. Thus Ephraim, so "broken" that it was no longer a people, (Isa. vii. 8), learned how evil a thing and bitter it was to forsake the living God, who would have defended and blessed them, for dumb idols that could not profit.

Therefore the LORD was very angry with Israel, and removed them out of his sight: there was none left but the tribe of Judah only. 2 Kings xvii. 18.

Josephus has recorded, on the authority of a passage from the archives of Tyre, that Shalmaneser made a hostile invasion of Phœnicia. Sidon, Ake, (Acre), Palætyrus (Old Tyre), and other cities, throwing off their allegiance to Tyre, submitted to the Assyrian, and helped him in the siege of "the crowning city," with sixty ships and eight hundred rowers. The Tyrians sustained the blockade for five years, and were then relieved by the death of Shalmaneser, B.C. 715.*

He was succeeded by the haughty blasphemer Sennacherib. The removal of the intervening tribes had laid Judah open to the assaults of Assyria, and the new monarch commenced his reign by an expedition against "all the fenced cities of Judah," which he took. (2 Kings xviii. 13.) The payment of three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold,

* Jos. Antiq. ix. 14.

relieved the Jewish king for the present, though to procure the sum he was compelled to exhaust the treasuries of the court and of the temple, and even to strip the doors and pillars of the latter of the gold that covered them.* Meanwhile the Assyrian monarch marched against Egypt, and carried on a successful campaign of three years. But the King of Ethiopia forcing him to retreat, he turned his rage against Jerusalem, and sent an immense army to summon it to surrender. The arrogance and blasphemy of the repeated messages of this haughty Assyrian, the resource which the Jewish king found in prayer, the answer of Jehovah, and the overwhelming destruction of the whole invading army in one night by the miraculous interposition of God, are narrated at length in two passages of Holy Writ. (See 2 Kings xviii. xix.; and Isa. xxxvi. xxxvii.)

Sennacherib fled in despair and shame to Nineveh, where his cruel temper, probably exasperated by his reverses, manifested itself in the most wanton tyranny over his own subjects and slaves; till he was at length assassinated by his two sons, while worshipping "in the house of Nisroch his god," B.C. 709.†

The two parricides having escaped into Armenia, a third son, Esarhaddon, ascended the throne. It appears that the tributary provinces took the opportunity to throw off their allegiance, which gave full employment to this monarch for many years of his long reign. His course, however, was marked by energy and success; he early recovered the revolted provinces to the west of the Euphrates, Phœnicia,

* See page 61, *infra*.

† Clinton dates this event B. C. 711.

Palestine, Syria, and Cilicia, and added to them Egypt and Arabia; and ultimately he made himself master of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Persia; Media alone maintaining its independence.* Thus this powerful prince appears to have restored the Assyrian empire to a state of splendour equal to that which it displayed in the brightest days of the more ancient dynasty.

Manasseh, the profligate son of the pious Hezekiah, at this time reigned on the throne of David. Esarhaddon, after having removed the few people that yet remained in the villages of Samaria, and replaced them by foreigners, sent his captains against Judah, who took Manasseh and carried him captive to Babylon; for the Assyrian king appears to have made this city the chief seat of his residence, after he had recovered the province of Babylonia. Affliction brought the Hebrew king to true repentance, and God forgave him his sins, though of the deepest dye, and made him a monument of grace. He also caused Esarhaddon to give him a release, and to restore him to his country and to his throne.

According to the Canon of Ptolemy, Esarhaddon (Asaradin) was succeeded by Saosdouchin, who is supposed to be the Nabuchodonosor of the apocryphal Book of Judith. There is, however, the utmost uncertainty in these identifications. If we may receive that book as veritable history, we have an account of the overrunning and spoliation of Media first, and then the whole of Western Asia, by the troops of this monarch. Judea, however, formed an

* See Judith i.

exception, and Jerusalem was saved from destruction by the courage and conduct of the heroic widow, Judith.

An impenetrable obscurity and an inextricable confusion reign over the latter periods of Assyrian history, which nothing but the testimony of its own annals will avail to remove. Herodotus intimates that about this time a wandering band of Scythians from the north spread themselves over Upper Asia and held the country for twenty-eight years. At the end of this time, the Medes under Cyaxares, having recovered the supremacy, besieged Nineveh with the help of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, who had thrown off the Assyrian yoke some years before.

And then we have a reproduction of the story of Sardanapalus.* Saracus, sometimes called Chynaladan, unable to meet his enemies in the field, destitute of personal courage, and possessing an army undisciplined, debauched, and terrible only to the

* The following table of dates is adopted by one of the most eminent of modern chronologers.

	B. C.
Commencement of the Assyrian monarchy	1912
Commencement of the empire	1237
Dissolution of the empire at the death of Sardanapalus	711
Destruction of Nineveh	606

(Clinton's *Fasti Hell.* i. 282.)

In comparing the earlier of these numbers with contemporaneous events in Scripture History, the reader must remember that this learned writer adopts a chronology differing from that of Archbishop Usher, which is commonly printed in the margins of our English Bibles. He enlarges the interval between the Exodus and the Temple; and thus throws back the date of the Exodus and the preceding epochs, assigning for the creation B. C. 4138.

unresisting, is said to have shut himself up in his palace with his women and his treasures, like his predecessor, until another irruption of the Tigris threw down the wall, and a second time involved the city in ruin, when he fired his own funeral pile B. C. 606.

The overwhelming destruction of this great city had been predicted about a century before by the prophet Nahum. His prophecy, though short, is remarkable for the majesty, boldness, and magnificence of its images, the grandeur of its language, and the luminousness of its descriptive pictures.

The prophet, in language of terrible vividness, denounces "Woe to the bloody city;" he accuses her of being "all full of lies and robbery;" as being constantly filled with prey, which,—under the similitude of "an old lion, tearing in pieces his victims for his whelps, and strangling them for his lionesses, and filling his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin,"—the tyrannical might of the Assyrian monarchy had gathered from the spoiled nations. He accuses her of abominable idolatry, under the similitude of "a well-favoured harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, that selleth nations through her whoredoms, and families through her witchcrafts." Heavy threatenings from Jehovah are uttered, who repeatedly declares that He is "against her:" again and again it is announced that the fire shall devour her, that her chariots shall be burned in the smoke; that the sword shall devour her "young lions;" that, though she should make great preparations to stand a siege, drawing waters, fortifying the strong-holds, and

making strong the brick-kilns, yet shall she be devoured; that her crowned captains shall flee away like grasshoppers, and their place be no more known. For Jehovah will bring against her a terrible enemy, who for his power and violence, and unsparing mercilessness, is known as "the dasher in pieces," who shall bring his mighty men in scarlet, with blood-red shields, as if to denote their sanguinary purposes; whose chariots, furnished with flaming torches, shall rage in her streets, and jostle one against another in the broad ways; who shall take the spoil of silver, and the spoil of gold, and the pleasant and glorious furniture, of which "there is no end." In her streets shall be heard "the noise of a whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the jumping chariots." Then it is added, as if the tumultuous scene were really being enacted before the prophet's eye; "the horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear: and there is a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcasses; and there is none end of their corpses; they stumble upon their corpses." The noble river, her pride and boast, shall help her destruction; for "the gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palaces shall be dissolved." Jehovah will make an utter end; affliction shall not rise up the second time. No more of her name shall be sown; the Lord will cut off the graven image, and the molten image; *He will make her grave*, because she is vile. He will even cast upon her abominable filth, and make her vile, and set her as a gazing-stock.

No city in the world seemed less likely to be sub-

ject to such a doom than the great and populous Nineveh, the metropolis of the mighty Assyrian empire. Yet before a hundred years had expired, all was accomplished; and not a jot nor a tittle of God's word against her had failed. In Jeremiah's time she had utterly passed away; for that prophet, enumerating the kingdoms of the earth who were doomed to drink at God's hand "the cup of fury," makes no mention of Assyria, or of Nineveh; and Ezzeiel, who prophesied at the same time, gives indeed a highly poetical description of "the Assyrian," but holds up his awful fall as a warning to other nations.

The destruction of Nineveh was absolute and sudden; "affliction" did not, as in the case of Babylon, and other cities, "*rise up a second time.*" Xenophon who, about B.C. 400, led the retreat of the Ten Thousand, speaks of it as a "great deserted inclosure." Lucian, a writer in the second century of the Christian era, himself a native of a city on the Euphrates, declares that Nineveh had *utterly perished*, that there was then no vestige of it remaining, and that none knew where it had stood. Tradition, had, however, indistinctly preserved a remembrance of the site; and immense heaps of earth, scattered along the banks of the Tigris, principally on the east side, opposite the modern city of Mosul, were considered as, *with some probability*, indicating the place where once had stood the proud seat of Assyrian greatness.

But little was it suspected by the few competent to form an opinion, or able to feel any interest on the subject, whom caprice or duty led along the

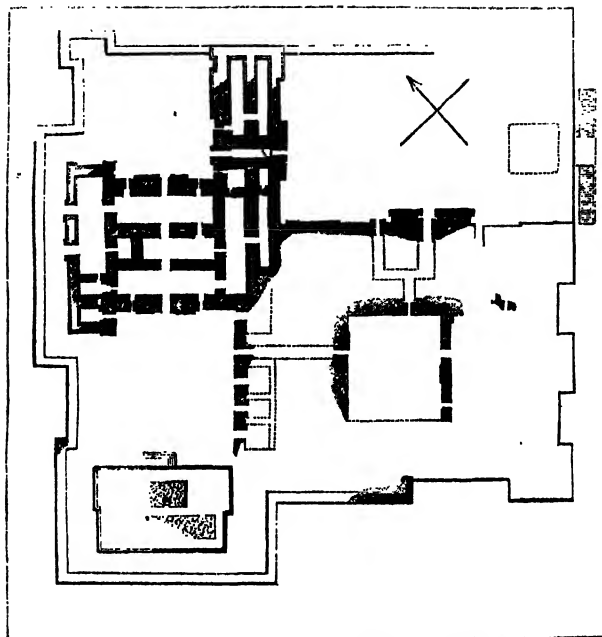
banks of the Tigris, that beneath these shapeless mounds lay buried the palaces and temples, the sculptures and the paintings, the monuments and the records of the ancient Assyrian monarchs, ready to be brought out in their almost primal freshness to the sunlight of our modern times, by the first European stranger who had sufficient enterprise to uncover them! That discovery, however, has been made; and the world has not yet recovered from the surprise with which it was suddenly startled by the resuscitation, from the grave of twenty-five centuries, of the marbles of ancient Nineveh.

Of the mounds which appear to be identified with ancient Nineveh, the principal are Kouyunjik, and Nebbi-Yunus, or the so-called Tomb of Jonah, on the east bank of the Tigris, opposite Mosul; Nimroud, about eighteen miles lower down the river, near the junction of the Greater Zab; Karasules, about twelve miles north of Nimroud, and Khorsabad, nearly the same distance north of Kouyunjik. These points form the four corners of a rhomboid, the circumference of which is sixty miles, the dimensions assigned to the ancient city "of three days' journey." Over this inclosed area are scattered many subordinate mounds, and the whole country is strewn with bricks, pottery, and other fragments of antiquity. On the opposite bank of the river, about forty miles below Nimroud, is another immense shapeless heap, clothed with grass, and called Kalah Sherghat. This is supposed by some to be the ruins of Calah (Gen. x. 11), one of the primeval sister cities of Nineveh.



NEBBI-YUNUS AND THE TIGRIS.

The first monuments of importance were obtained at Khorsabad, in the year 1844, by M. Botta, the French Consul at Mosul. Excavating in the mound so called, he uncovered a chamber, surrounded by slabs of alabaster, on which were sculptured in relief, battles, sieges, processions, and other scenes; with numerous inscriptions in the arrow-headed character. It was evident that the palace of which this was a part, had been subjected to the action of fire, for the slabs were completely calcined, and could scarcely be preserved sufficiently to allow the scenes and inscriptions to be copied, before they mouldered into dust.



PLAN OF THE PALACE AT KHORSABAD.

(As restored by Mr. Fergusson.)

In other chambers, however, the slabs were sufficiently perfect to be removed; and the sculptures in many cases yet retained the colours with which they had been painted. Colossal statues of winged human-headed bulls, painted bricks, fragments of copper, and considerable quantities of charcoal, were also found.

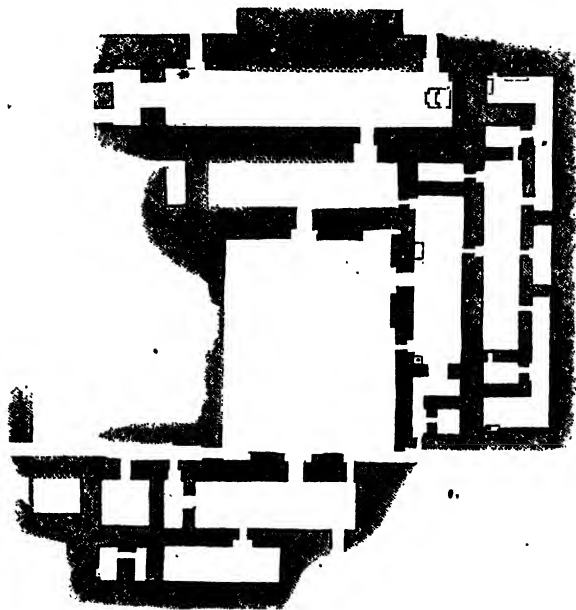
In the autumn of 1845, our countryman, Mr. Layard, commenced excavating the great mound of

Nimroud, the angle of the rhomboid most remote from Khorsabad. He, too, was rewarded by monuments similar in character to those already found, but distinguished by greater majesty and simplicity of design, a severer style of execution, and peculiarities of costume, which indicated a considerable difference in the age of the two palaces which had been uncovered. The details of these discoveries, full of the highest interest, are recorded by the learned archæologist himself in his "Nineveh and its Remains," a work which needs no recommendation of ours; and the sculptured scenes have been faithfully copied and published in a magnificent volume, "The Monuments of Nineveh;" while those obtained by M. Botta have been laid before the world in similar style in a work of five volumes, entitled "Monument de Ninive." Very many of the sculptures themselves and other remains are preserved in the Louvre at Paris, and in the British Museum.

The principal monuments discovered at Nimroud were from a palace near the north-west corner of the mound, but there was another palace at the south-west corner, one at the south-east, and one in the centre, besides chambers in other parts. The north-west and central palaces were the most ancient, having been laid in ruins before the others were erected: that at the south-west being built chiefly of slabs taken from these. The south-east corner was occupied by tombs, beneath which were the remains of a ruined palace. •

From various deductions drawn from the condition of the ruined palaces, the sculptures contained in

them, and the numerous genealogical and other inscriptions which have been partially read, it is ascertained indubitably that the north-west and central palaces of Nimroud are the most ancient relics of Assyria yet discovered; that a very long interval



PLAN OF N.W. PALACE.

lies between their era, and that of Khorsabad and Koyunjik, which were the palaces of a father and son; and it seems pretty certain that the south-west edifice was considerably later than these. The north-west and central palaces had not been subjected to

the action of fire, but the south-west palace of the mound, as well as Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, had evidently been destroyed by conflagration. The south-west palace is supposed by Mr. Fergusson to have been the scene of the suicide of Saracus, the last king of Nineveh: and he suggests that the funeral pyre was erected in front of the southern entrance, which Mr. Layard found almost blocked up by charcoal.

The exquisitely wrought ivory ornaments, discovered in the Nimroud mound, afford evidence of a curious episode in Assyrian history. Their subject and form are evidently Egyptian, yet not pure Egyptian, but apparently wrought in a foreign land under Egyptian direction; probably indicating that at some period between the earliest and latest eras of Assyrian art, the Pharaohs of the Nile, or a dynasty whose sympathies were with them, ruled in the queenly Nineveh. "The great period of Egyptian influence, whether by connexion, commerce, or domination, was during the dynasties from the 18th to the 22nd of the Egyptian kings; a period which we may loosely indicate by saying, that it would include the reign of king Solomon in Judea. To this period may possibly belong those perplexing tombs in which the Egyptian ornaments are chiefly found, and which cover the remains of the north-western, central, and south-eastern palaces of Nimroud."* But it is to the Assyrian Inscriptions that we must look for information on the chronology and history of this ancient empire.

* Quarterly Review, No. 167, p. 146.

“The earliest records,” observes Colonel Rawlinson, “that have been yet brought to light, written in the cuneiform character, are certainly the inscriptions of the north-west palace of Nimrud; these belong to a king, whose name I read as Assar-adan-pal,* and whom I am inclined to identify with the Sardanapalus of the Greeks; not the voluptuary of historical romance, but the warlike Sardanapalus of Callisthenes, whose place of sepulture, marked by an enormous tumulus, Amynthas, an ancient Greek author, quoted by Athenæus, notices at the gate of the Assyrian capital.

“But although this Sardanapalus, the builder of the north-west palace of Nimrud, is the earliest Assyrian monarch whose annals have been yet discovered, it does not by any means follow that he was the first founder of the city of Halah,† still less that he was the first great builder in Assyria, or the first king who ruled over the land. On the contrary, it is an ascertained fact, that Sardanapalus did not stand nearly at the head of his line.

“Sardanapalus, indeed, in every one of his inscriptions names both his father and his grandfather, and applies to each of them the title of ‘King of Assyria.’ In commemorating, moreover, the building of the palace at Nimrud, he speaks of a still earlier

* See, however, the Appendix at the end of this volume.

† Col. Rawlinson identifies (rather doubtfully as we think) Nimroud with Calah (Gen. x. 11) and Halah (2 Kings xviii. 11) and with the Larissa of Xenophon; Nebbi Yunus with the primitive Nineveh; Kouyunjik with Mespila of Xenophon, and Khorsabad with Sargon, a name applied by Isaiah (Is. xx. 1), to an Assyrian king, apparently Shalmaneser.

king, Temen-bar I., who was the original founder of the city of Halah."*

The central palace was built by Temen-bar II., the son and successor of Sardanapalus; of whose annals, through a reign of thirty years, a detailed record is preserved on an obelisk of black basalt, now in the British Museum.† This record has been translated by Col. Rawlinson.

Two other monarchs, Shemir-hem (Semiramis?) and Hevenk (Evechius) II., terminate the royal line of Sardanapalus; and an interval of unknown length succeeded before the commencement of the next known dynasty, headed by the builder of Khorsabad. The identification of this king and his successors, involves a question of so much interest, that we shall quote at considerable length the details of its examination.

As early as June 25th, 1849, the Rev. Edward Hincks, D.D., read before the Royal Irish Academy an elaborate paper "On the Khorsabad Inscriptions," in which he identified the builder of the Kouyunjik palace with Sennacherib (San-ki-rib); and the builder of the south-west edifice at Nimroud with Esar-haddon (Athur-ka-than) his son. The name of the Khorsabad king, the father of the former, he read as Kinilin, which he attempted to identify with the Chinziros of Ptolemy's canon,

* As a monarch, Beltakat, is named still older than Temen-bar, it is manifest that the city founded by the latter cannot be the Calah of Gen. x. 11; for that is expressly declared to have been built by Asshur, (or Nimrod, according to the reading) contemporaneously with the foundation of the monarchy.

† See the Appendix.

who, conjointly with Porus, reigned over Babylon, and whom Dr. Hincks supposed to be the Tiglath-pileser of the sacred records.

These identifications Col. Rawlinson criticised in his "Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions," read before the Royal Asiatic Society on the 19th of January and the 16th of February, 1850; in which he thus summed up the evidence for the identity of the former two kings with Esarhaddon and Sennacherib, and that of the last with Shalmaneser.

"The impression appears to be pretty general, that whatever may be the antiquity allowed to the Nimrud series of kings, the line commencing with the builder of Khorsabad must, at any rate, represent what is usually termed the lower dynasty of Assyria, that is, the monarchs mentioned in Scripture, who were contemporary with the kings of Israel and Judah. Now in a question of this sort, with the limited and intractable materials that are alone available to our research, certainty is impossible. Positiveness must of itself create suspicion, for it is a proof that the subject cannot have been thoroughly investigated. I would not pretend, for my own part, to pronounce authoritatively, that the kings of the lower or restored dynasty of Assyria were, or were not, the royal line mentioned in Scripture. My opinion at present is, I confess, against the identification, but the evidence is pretty nearly balanced; and if the great difficulty, the dissimilarity of names, were removed, I might possibly become a convert to the belief that, in the three kings, who built the palace of Khorsabad, who founded Mespila,

and who constructed the lions in the south-west palace of Nimrud, we had the Biblical Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon.

“Firstly, then, with regard to Shalmaneser. The Sargon of Isaiah, who sent his general, Tartan, against Ashdod, at the commencement, apparently, of the reign of Hoshea, King of Israel, is almost certainly the same king who is usually named Shalmaneser; it may be supposed, therefore, that the king bore these two names indifferently. Now I do not think that the Assyrian name of the Khorsabad king will read, phonetically, either Sargon or Shalmaneser, but it may be made to assimilate with the former name, inasmuch as the first element of it denotes ‘a king,’ to which, amongst other words, *sar* answers in Chaldee, and the second element, which reads *tsin* or *du*, interchanges in other names with *kon*, leading to the inference that *tsin*, *du*, and *kon*, were synonyms, which might be optionally employed. As a further argument, also, that the popular name of the Khorsabad king was really Sargon, I must repeat the observation which I have already made in treating of the nomenclature of the ruins; namely, that the city excavated by M. Botta is stated in the inscriptions to have borne the same name as its founder, and that as late as the Arab conquest the site of Khorsabad actually retained, in the country, the old Syrian title of Sarghun.

“This similarity of name, however, is perhaps the least striking of the coincidences between the Khorsabad king and the Shalmaneser of history.

Shalmaneser we know attacked Hoshea, because he was in communication with Sabaco, King of Egypt. The King of Egypt mentioned in the Khorsabad Inscriptions, dating perhaps five years earlier, is Biarka or Biarku, a title which somewhat resembles that of Bocchoris, the king whom Sabaco dethroned. We further learn from Josephus, quoting from Menander, that Shalmaneser sent a force to Cyprus to assist the islanders against Tyre; and it is thus highly interesting to find that an inscription which has lately been discovered in the island of Cyprus, and which appears to commemorate the liberation of the islanders, belongs to the King of Assyria, who is known as the builder of Khorsabad. An expedition against Ashdod is described at Khorsabad, which may very well be that noticed in Isaiah, and the king always names Ashdod among his tributary cities, whilst Tyre and Sidon are excluded from the list, in accordance, apparently, with the testimony of Menander, that Tyre successfully resisted Shalmaneser's five years' siege. Among the countries overrun by the Khorsabad king we also find in one inscription the name of Yehuda, in connexion with that of Hamath; and although without further evidence I would not venture for my own part to identify the geographical position, I can well understand that a sanguine interpreter would be disposed to fasten on the passage as a notice of the conquest of Samaria.

"I now go on to the next king, the builder of the great palace of Koyunjik, and the son of the king at Khorsabad, whose actions, it must be admitted, have a good deal of resemblance to those of Sargon or Shalmaneser. Of course if the father be Shalmaneser

the son will be Sennacherib, and it has been lately stated by a scholar, Dr. Hincks, who has made considerable progress in decyphering the Assyrian inscriptions, that the cuneiform orthography actually gives that name. I cannot, however, I confess, persuade myself of the possibility of such a reading. . . . The few records, at the same time, of the Koyunjik king, that have been as yet alone found, coincide in some degree with our historical notices of Sennacherib. On the great tablet at Bavian the Koyunjik king records his conquest of Babylon, which agrees sufficiently well with the statement of Abydenus and Alexander Polyhistor that Sennacherib thus inaugurated his reign. In an inscription upon one of the bulls at Koyunjik there is also a notice of this king's conquest of Sidon, and the name of the monarch who was conquered may perhaps be read as Ithobal.

"It would seem highly probable that it was upon the same expedition into Phœnicia that the triumphal tablet was engraved at the Nahar el Kalb; and as the Assyrian monarch has there apparently retorted upon Egypt the boast of foreign conquest, the circumstances would seem particularly applicable to the great expedition of Sennacherib, which is alluded to both in Holy Writ and by Herodotus, and in which Josephus states that the Assyrian king not only took Ashdod and Pelusium, but also ravaged Lower Egypt.

"Of the son of this king very little indeed is known from the inscriptions; but the first two elements of his name are identical with those that occur in the name of Sardanapalus, and thus read,

according to my phonetic system, Assar-adan, which represents as nearly as possible the Esarhaddon of Scripture.

“These are the immediate points connected with the inscriptions of the Khorsabad dynasty, which seem to me to be favourable to the identification of the line with the Scriptural kings, Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon. The general position which would also lead to the same conclusion, and which of course is that usually put forward, is, that monarchs of such power as those who overran Palestine, and carried the Ten Tribes into captivity, must needs, in a country where sculptured slabs and votive bulls appear to have answered the same purpose as our modern gazettes and bulletins, have left some memorials of their sway,—while, if any such memorials do exist amongst the relics that have lately been disinterred, the inscriptions of Khorsabad and Koyunjik are those alone which will answer.”*

The learned philologist then proceeds to enumerate the reasons which lie against these identifications, and which at that time appeared to him so strong as to induce him to reject the proposed readings. Those arguments, however, we need not now quote; for even while these pages are passing through the press the correctness of the identifications has been established beyond all doubt, and Col. Rawlinson himself has announced the discovery of facts of the very highest interest; no less in short than the original records by the Assyrian kings of their relations with the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, with

* Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, p. 50 et seq.

which we have been familiar in the inspired Word of God.

"I have succeeded," writes this gentleman, "in determinately identifying the Assyrian kings of the lower dynasty, whose palaces have been recently excavated in the vicinity of Mosul:—and I have obtained from the annals of those kings contemporary notices of events which agree in the most remarkable way with the statements preserved in sacred and profane history.

"The king who built the palace of Khorsabad, excavated by the French, is named *Sargina* (the סרגין of Isaiah); but he also bears, in some of the inscriptions, the epithet of Shalmaneser, by which title he was better known to the Jews. In the first year of his reign he came up against the city of Samaria (called *Samarina*, and answering to the Hebrew שמרון) and the tribes of the country of *Beth Homri* (עמרי or 'Omri, being the name of the founder of Samaria, 1 Kings xvi. 16, *et seq.*, &c.). He carried off into captivity in Assyria 27,280 families, and settled in their places colonists brought from Babylonia:—appointing prefects to administer the country, and imposing the same tribute which had been paid to former kings. The only tablet at Khorsabad which exhibits this conquest in any detail (Plate 70) is unfortunately much mutilated. Should Monsieur de Saulcy,* however, whom the French are now sending to Assyria, find a dupli-

* In February, 1850, M. de Sanley read before the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres at Paris, a translation into Latin of an Assyrian record repeated many times in the Palace of Khorsabad, accompanying the version with a Commentary. It is an enumeration of

cate of Shalmaneser's annals in good preservation, I think it probable that the name of the king of Israel may yet be recovered.

"In the second year of Shalmaneser's reign he subjugated the kings of *Libnah* (?) and *Khazita* (the Cadytis of Herodotus) who were dependent upon Egypt; and in the seventh year of his reign he received tribute direct from the king of that country, who is named *Pirhu*, probably for פִּרְעָה, 'Pharaoh,' the title by which the kings of Egypt were known to the Jews and other Semitic nations. This punishment of the Egyptians by Sargon or Shalmaneser is alluded to in the 20th chapter of Isaiah.

"Among the other exploits of Shalmaneser found in his annals, are,—the conquest of Ashdod, also alluded to in Isaiah xx. 1,—and his reduction of the neighbouring city of *Jamnai*, called *Jabneh* or *Jamneh* in the Bible, *Jamnaan* in Judith, and *Ἰάμνεα* by the Greeks.

"In conformity with Menander's statement that Shalmaneser assisted the Cittæans against Sidon, we find a statue and inscription of this king, Sargina,

the exploits and successes of the Khorsabad king; whose name he reads as Sardon, and whom he identifies as the Esar-haddon of Scripture. Among other nations and cities mentioned as having been conquered by the king, he speaks of having taken away the men and spoiled the city of Jerusalem, (*Irschalem*), and as having alarmed (*terrui*) the people of Samaria (*Schamarin*). The Medes (*Madah*) and Koords (*Kardah*), the Ionians or Greeks (*Jaounin*), and a king of Egypt (*Maar*), with other names of interest, are also recognised by M. de Saulcy in this document. (*Sec Rev. Archeologique* for 1850.) It is difficult to reconcile this reading and Col. Rawlinson's identification of the Khorsabad king with Shalmaneser, since Scripture does not give us the least reason to believe that this Assyrian monarch made any hostile demonstration against Jerusalem, much less sacked and depopulated it.

in the island of Cyprus, recording the event; and to complete the chain of evidence, the city, built by him and named after him, the ruins of which are now called Khorsabad, retained among the Syrians the title of *Sarghun* as late as the Arab conquest.

“I am not sure how long Shalmaneser reigned, or whether he made a second expedition into Palestine. His annals at Khorsabad extend only to the fifteenth year; and although the names are given of numerous cities which he captured in Cœlo-Syria and on the Euphrates—such as Hamath, Beræa, Damascus, Bambyce, and Carchemish,—I am unable to trace his steps into Judæa Proper. On a tablet, however, which he set up towards the close of his reign in the Palace of the first Sardanapalus at Nimrud, he styles himself ‘conqueror of the remote Judæa;’ and I rather think, therefore, that the expedition in which, after a three years’ siege of Samaria, he carried off the great body of the tribes of Israel, and which is commemorated in the Bible as having been concluded in the sixth year of Hezekiah, must have taken place subsequently to the building of the palace of Khorsabad.

“Without this explanation, indeed, we shall be embarrassed about dates:—for I shall presently show that we have a distinct notice of Sennacherib’s attack upon Jerusalem in the third year of that king’s reign, and we are thus able to determine an interval of eighteen years at least to have elapsed between the last named event and the Samaritan campaign; whereas in the Bible we find the great captivity to date from the sixth year of Hezekiah, and the invasion of Sennacherib from the fourteenth.”

"I now go on to the annals of Sennacherib. This is the king who built the great Palace of Koyunjik, which Mr. Layard has been recently excavating. He was the son of Sargina or Shalmanser; and his name, expressed entirely by monograms, may have been pronounced *Sennachiriba*. The events, at any rate, of his reign place beyond the reach of dispute his historic identity. He commenced his career by subjugating the Babylonians under their king Merodach-Baladan, who had also been the antagonist of his father:—two important points of agreement being thus obtained both with Scripture and with the account of Polyhistor. The annals of the third year, however, of the reign of Sennacherib, which I have just deciphered after the copy of an inscription taken by Mr. Layard from one of the bulls at the grand entrance of the Koyunjik Palace, contain those striking points of coincidence which first attracted my attention,—and which being once recognized, have naturally led to the complete unfolding of all this period of history. In his third year, Sennacherib undertook, in the first instance, an expedition against *Iuliya*, King of Sidon (the Ἰουλαῖος of Menander), in which he was completely successful. He was afterwards engaged in operations against some other cities of Syria, which I have not yet identified,—and whilst so employed learned of an insurrection in Palestine. The inhabitants, indeed, of that country had risen against their king *Padiya*, and the officers who had been placed in authority over them, on the part of the

Assyrian monarch,—and had driven them out of the province, obliging them to take refuge with Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, the capital city of Judæa. (The orthography of these three names corresponds very nearly with the Hebrew reading:—*Khazakiyahu* representing חזקיהו, *Ursalimma* standing for ירושלם, and *Yahuda* for יהודה.) The rebels then sent for assistance to the kings of Egypt; and a large army of horse and foot marched to their assistance, under the command of the king of Pelusium (?) Sennacherib at once proceeded to meet this army; and fighting an action with them in the vicinity of the city of *Allaku*, (?) completely defeated them. He made many prisoners also,—whom he executed, or otherwise disposed of. Padiya then returned from Jerusalem, and was re-instated in his government. In the mean time, however, a quarrel arose between Sennacherib and Hezekiah on the subject of tribute. Sennacherib ravaged the open country, taking ‘all the fenced cities of Judah,’ and at last threatened Jerusalem. Hezekiah then made his submission, and tendered to the king of Assyria, as tribute, 30 talents of gold, 300 talents of silver, the ornaments of the Temple, slaves, boys and girls and men-servants and maid-servants for the use of the palace. All these things Sennacherib received:—after which he detached a portion of Hezekiah’s villages, and placed them in dependence on the cities which had been faithful to him,—such as *Hebron*, *Ascalon* and *Cadytis*. He then retired to Assyria.

“Now, this is evidently the campaign which is

alluded to in Scripture (2 Kings xviii. 13—17); and it is perhaps the same which is obscurely noticed by Herodotus, (ii. 141,) and which is further described by Josephus, (Antiq. x. 1.) The agreement, at any rate, between the record of the Sacred Historian and the contemporary chronicle of Sennacherib, which I have here copied, extends even to the number of the talents of gold and silver which were given as tribute.

“I have not yet examined, with the care which it requires, the continuation of Sennacherib's chronicle; but I believe that most of the events attributed to that monarch by the historians Polyhistor and Abydenus will be found in the annals. His pretended conflict with the Greeks on the coast of Cilicia will, I suspect, turn out to be his reduction of the city of *Javnai*, near Ashdod,—the mistake having arisen from the similarity of the name of *Javnai* to that of *Javani*, or Ionians, by which the Greeks were generally known to the nations of the East. At any rate, when Polyhistor says that ‘Sennacherib erected a statue of himself as a monument of his victory (over the Greeks), and ordered his prowess to be inscribed upon it in Chaldæan characters,’ he certainly alludes to the famous tablet of the Koyunjik King at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb, which appears from the annals to have been executed after the conquest of the city of *Javnai*.

“The only copy which has been yet found of Sennacherib's annals at Koyunjik is very imperfect, and extends only to the seventh year. The relic

known as Col. Taylor's Cylinder dates from one year later; but I have never seen any account of the events of the latter portion of his reign. His reign, however, according to the Greeks, extended to eighteen years, so that his second expedition to Palestine and the miraculous destruction of his army must have occurred fourteen or fifteen years later than the campaign above described. Pending the discovery of a complete set of annals, I would not of course set much store by the Greek dates; but it may be remarked that Hezekiah would have been still living at the period of the miraculous destruction of Sennacherib's army even if, as I have thus conjectured, the second invasion of Judæa had occurred fourteen or fifteen years later than the first; for the earlier campaign is fixed to the fourteenth year of his reign, and his entire reign extended to twenty-nine years.

"I will only further mention that we have upon a cylinder in the British Museum a tolerably perfect copy of the annals of Esar-Haddon, the son of Sennacherib, in which we find a further deportation of Israelites from Palestine, and a further settlement of Babylonian colonists in their place:—an explanation being thus obtained of the passage of Ezra (iv. 2) in which the Samaritans speak of Esar-Haddon as the king by whom they had been transplanted.

"Many of the drawings and inscriptions which have been recently brought by Mr. Layard from Nineveh refer to the son of Esar-Haddon, who warred extensively in Susiana, Babylonia, and

Armenia; though as his arms never penetrated to the westward, he has been unnoticed in Scripture history: and under the son of this king, who is named Saracus or Sardanapalus by the Greeks, Nineveh seems to have been destroyed.

“One of the most interesting matters connected with this discovery of the identity of the Assyrian kings is, the prospect, amounting almost to a certainty, that we must have, in the bas-reliefs of Khorsabad and Koyunjik, representations from the chisels of contemporary artists, not only of Samaria, but of that Jerusalem which contained the Temple of Solomon. I have already identified the Samaritans among the groups of captives portrayed upon the marbles of Khorsabad; and when I shall have accurately learnt the locality of the different bas-reliefs that have been brought from Koyunjik, I do not doubt but that I shall be able to point out the bands of Jewish maidens who were delivered to Sennacherib, and perhaps to distinguish the portraiture of the humbled Hezekiah.”—*Athenæum* for Aug. 23, 1851.*



THE MOUND OF KHORSABAD.

* See the Appendix, at the end of this volume.

WORSHIP.

Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands. They have mouths, but they speak not: eyes have they, but they see not: they have ears, but they hear not: noses have they, but they smell not: they have hands, but they handle not: feet have they, but they walk not: neither speak they through their throat. They that make them are like unto them: so is every one that trusteth in them. Ps. cxv. 4-8.

And the LORD hath given a commandment concerning thee, that no more of thy name be sown: out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image and the molten image: I will make thy grave; for thou art vile. Nah. i. 14.

"GOD is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." But it has ever been the tendency of man's mind to decline from this spirituality in worship, and to set up something of which his senses may be cognizant as the object of his devotion, cleaving to the visible and the tangible. And this, as an inspired Apostle tells us, was not so much the result of ignorance as of choice; "*they did not like* to retain God in their knowledge;" and therefore, in the darkness of "their foolish heart," while making the most boastful pretensions to wisdom, they "changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things." This was a crime of the greatest magnitude, robbing the only living and true

God of his glory, and even, as far as lay in man's will, dethroning Him; and therefore no wonder that it brought in its train other evils, a reprobate mind, vile affections, and things that cannot even be named without shame. We should never forget, when we have occasion to speak of the "gods many and lords many" of the heathen world, that we have to do with that which is essentially defiling; the Christian needs a watchful and sober spirit in treating of idolatry, lest too close familiarity with its abominations beget a measure of indifference to their vileness, and the keen edge of heart-purity be dulled. The connection between theology and morals is inseparable; a people cannot rise higher than their gods; and what was the character of the divinities of the ancient world, we well know. Who can read the histories of the herd of demon-gods that figure in Homer, Virgil, and Ovid, without feeling, in spite of the charms of poetry with which they are embellished, emotions of alternate contempt and indignation for them, pity and shame for their worshippers?

In all probability mankind did not at once apostatize from the worship of Jehovah into a debasing image-worship. Symbolic representatives would perhaps first be found in nature, in which the sensuous mind of man would seek to embody some or other of the attributes of God; and afterwards others might arbitrarily be made. Angelic orders of intelligences, who in early times, as we know from Holy Writ, occasionally rendered their existence and their presence apparent, would perhaps be considered as mediators between men and God, and eventually

take the place of patrons, or subordinate deities. Thus the recognition, or at least the habitual consideration, of God would gradually fade; He would be put more and more remote from their thoughts, and their trust, confidence, and homage would be given to the divinities of their own appointment. Against these two cardinal branches of idolatry, the recognition of other gods besides Jehovah, and the making of any symbol or image of Himself, were the first prohibitions of the Mosaic law directed.

Probably the oldest form of false worship was that known as Zabaism, which prevailed at a very early period in Arabia and Chaldea. The sun, moon, and stars were believed to be the tabernacles or habitations of exalted intelligences, which animated these orbs as the soul of man animates his body, and caused their various motions. These supposed intelligences were chosen to be the mediators between the supreme but ineffable and unapproachable God and the worshippers, and became the objects of prayer and adoration. "And here began all the idolatry that hath been practised in the world. They first worshipped them *per sacella*, that is, by *their tabernacles*, and afterwards by images also. By these *sacella*, or *tabernacles*, they meant the orbs themselves, which they looked on only as the *sacella*, or *sacred tabernacles*, in which the intelligences had their habitations: and therefore, when they paid their devotions to any one of them, they directed their worship towards the planet, in which they supposed he dwelt; but these orbs, by their rising and

setting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loss how to address them in their absence. To remedy this they had recourse to the invention of images; in which, after their consecration, they thought these intelligencies, or inferior deities, to be as much present by their influence, as in the planets themselves; and that all addresses to them were made as effectually before the one as before the other. And this was the beginning of image-worship among them."*

Allusion is made to the worship of the heavenly orbs by Job, who probably lived either in Chaldea or in the north of Arabia, and, according to Dr. Hales, one hundred and eighty-four years before the time of Abraham.

If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand; this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge; for I should have denied the God that is above. Job xxxi. 26-28.

From no grosser form of idolatry being mentioned in the enumeration of transgressions which the patriarch disclaims, we may infer that he witnessed the first proclivity of men towards this sin, before it had yet become general, and while public law was on the side of God. But, as the downward course of sin is rapid, the public apostasy from God in Chaldea had probably passed through this its simpler phase, and assumed the grosser form of image-worship, at the time when the illustrious progenitor of the Jewish race was called away from its contamination to his pilgrim-walk with God.

* Prideaux's Conn. i. 169 (Lond. 1845).

And Joshua said unto all the people, Thus saith the LORD God of Israel, Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor; *and they served other gods.*

Now therefore fear the LORD, and serve him in sincerity and in truth: and put away *the gods which your fathers served* on the other side of the flood, and in Egypt; and serve ye the LORD. And if it seem evil unto you to serve the LORD, choose you this day whom ye will serve; whether the gods which your fathers served that were on the other side of the flood, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell: but as for me and my house, we will serve the LORD. Josh. xxiv. 2; 14, 15.

We learn from this passage that Abraham himself had been, in the former part of his life, involved in the Chaldean form of idolatry; and also that this, which was probably Zabaism, was distinct, at least as yet, from the idolatry of the Amoritish nations that inhabited Canaan.

The traditions of the Jews and of the Arabians, who agree in common veneration for the memory of Abraham, may be mentioned as confirming the conclusion that the celestial orbs were become objects of worship in his era, though much weight cannot be attached to evidence so unsatisfactory. The Rabbins, always prone to the monstrously marvellous, have indeed endowed their progenitor with fabulous attributes of bulk and power, simply ludicrous; a habit which greatly detracts from the credibility which we might in other matters concede to their accounts. They affirm that Terah, the father of the patriarch, was by trade a maker of idols; that Abram, in righteous zeal (like his descendent Gideon

in after times), destroyed his father's stock of images, and being accused for the sacrilege before Nimrod, was condemned to be burned alive. He came out of the flames, however, unhurt; a fact which the Rabbins assert to be expressed in the words, "I am the LORD that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees;" the word *Ur* in Hebrew signifying *fire*. These interpreters, however, forget that the same word is used a little before, to designate the place from which Terah and his whole family migrated (Gen. xi. 31), and in which Haran had already died (ver. 28).

Josephus, more soberly, omits the extravagances of the Rabbins, and merely implies the existence of the Zabian worship. He tells us that Abram deduced the dependent character of the heavenly bodies from the irregularity of their motions, and consequently refused to render them worship; and that by this conduct he provoked the hatred of the Chaldeans.

Similar accounts, but more in detail, are given in the traditions long preserved among the Arabs, which are collected into the book entitled *Maallem*. These, whatever be their antiquity, existed in their present form long before the time of Mohammed, for they are recognised in the Koran as matters of common belief. These state explicitly that at the time when Abram was born, during the reign of Nimrod in Chaldea, the people of his dominions worshipped divers gods. Some adored the sun, others the moon and stars; and while some bowed down themselves before images, in which they recognised the presence

of some divinity, others acknowledged no other god than Nimrod himself.*

The tendency of men to this *astrolatry*, or star-worship, and perhaps the peculiar danger in which the Israelitish people stood of falling into it, from their position in the midst of surrounding nations already abandoned to its "enticements," are indicated in the solemn warnings and stringent prohibitions contained in the Mosaic law, as the following.

Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves, . . . lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldest be driven to worship them, and serve them, which the LORD thy God hath divided unto all nations under the whole heaven. Dent. iv. 15—19.

If there be found among you, within any of thy gates which the LORD

* The process of reasoning, by which the infant Abram discovered the vanity of the prevalent worship of the heavenly host, is narrated in a pleasing manner in one of these Arabian tales. When travelling across the great plain of Shinar by night, from the cave, in which he had been immured from his birth, to Babel, the proud metropolis of Nimrod's kingdom, he indulged in silent meditations on the stars. He beheld in the western sky the planet Venus shining in soft effulgence, whom many in that country adored as a goddess. "Surely," said he, "this must be the god and lord of the universe!" The beauteous planet, however, grew dim, and at length sank beneath the horizon, and Abram said, "The Lord of the universe cannot be thus liable to change." Presently the full moon arose, and he cried, "Behold the Divine Creator, the manifest Deity!" but at length the silver orb passed the meridian, and as Abram watched her approaching nearer and nearer to the earth, and perceived that she would likewise disappear, he gave utterance as before to his feelings of disappointment. The latter part of the night he spent in profound thought; and when in the morning he arrived at the gates of Babel, he beheld the multitude prostrate in adoration before the rising sun. "Wondrous being," cried he, "thou indeed appearest a God, the Creator, Sustainer, and Enlightener of nature; but if thou, too, hastenest to thy setting, and art to disappear like thy fellows, how can I worship thee as my Creator, my Lord, my God?"

thy God giveth thee, man or woman, that hath wrought wickedness in the sight of the Lord thy God, in transgressing his covenant, and hath gone and served other gods, and worshipped them, either the sun, or moon, or any of the host of heaven, which I have not commanded; and it be told thee, and thou hast heard of it, and inquired diligently, and, behold, it be true, and the thing certain, that such abomination is wrought in Israel: then shalt thou bring forth that man or that woman, which have committed that wicked thing, unto thy gates, even that man or that woman, and shalt stone them with stones, till they die. Deut. xvii. 2—5.

Traces of the astrolatry of the Assyrians occur in the earlier sculptures, but they are not numerous. In one from the north-west palace of Nimroud, two figures of a king are represented apparently worshipping over the sacred tree, with winged priests (?) behind them. The kings wear necklaces, fully seen only on one; these are strings from which are suspended little objects, probably formed of metal or precious stones; among them are figures of the sun and moon, and of the horned or sacerdotal cap. In a hunting scene embroidered on a king's robe in a bas-relief from the same palace, there are placed in the sky a crescent moon, and a large star of eight rays, with a winged and tailed disk between them. The sun, represented as a rayed star within a double circle, and a similar disk furnished with wings and tail, are represented in each of the two upper compartments of the first side of the black obelisk now in the British Museum, and are placed above, and a little in front of, the king, in whose honour the monument was erected. Again, on a slab from the centre ruins of Nimroud, where the king is seated in state with his officers and eunuchs before him, above him is a disk with two concentric circles, a crescent,

and a four-rayed star of peculiar form, the rays being related like the arms of a Maltese cross.



STAR-WORSHIP.

These are all the representations of the heavenly bodies which we have been able to trace on the



DEVICE ON AN ASSYRIAN CYLINDER.

sculptures, so far as published: and these all belong to the earlier monuments; at Khorsabad they are not seen. The cylinders of baked clay and other

materials, which have been found in considerable numbers in Assyria and Babylonia, and which are marked with various groups of figures and symbols, often rude enough, but generally resembling those of the bas-reliefs,—very frequently display the celestial orbs; and that not only in the forms of which we have spoken, of disks, crescents, and rayed stars, which last are probably planets, but in groups of seven, eight, or ten small globes variously arranged, which are supposed to represent constellations; intermingled with figures of the signs of the zodiac, among which one of the most conspicuous is Capricornus, figured as on our globes, beast in the fore parts and fish in the rear.*

But the comparative simplicity of star-worship very early degenerated into gross idolatry; and, without being itself relinquished, became associated with other forms of false devotion, either growing out of the same root, or springing from similar erroneous notions.

The general principles of the idolatry that prevailed among the Syro-Arabian nations have been thus set forth by Movers, (*Die Phönizier*, i. 148). The religion of these branches of the Semitic stock “was a deification of the powers and laws of Nature, an adoration of those objects in which these powers are considered to abide, and by which they act. The Deity is thus the invisible power in nature itself, that power which manifests itself as the generator, sustainer, and destroyer of its works. This view admits of two modifications: either the separate

* Cullimore's *Cylinders*. No. 29, 32.

powers of Nature are regarded as so many different gods, and the objects by which these powers are manifested,—as the sun, moon, &c.,—are regarded as their images and supporters, or the power of Nature is considered to be one and indivisible, and only to differ as to the forms under which it manifests itself. Both views co-exist in almost all religions. The most simple and ancient notion, however, is that which conceives the Deity to be in human form, as male and female, and which considers the male sex to be the type of its active, generative, and destructive power; while that passive power of Nature, whose function is to conceive and bring forth, is embodied under the female form. The human form and the diversity of sex lead naturally to the different ages of life,—to the old man and the youth, the matron and the virgin—according to the modifications of the conception; and the myths which represent the influences, the changes, the laws, and the relations of these natural powers under the sacred histories of such gods, constitute a harmonious development of such a religious system.”*

Thus were doubtless introduced in the course of ages the multitudes of gods and goddesses, whose rites, often foolish, cruel, and impure, have enslaved the minds of pagan nations; such as we read of in the complicated mythologies of old Greece and Rome, and such as we still see in the gigantic idolatry, hoary with antiquity, yet still in terrible vigour, of Hindustan. No doubt a considerable

* Quoted in Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Lit. ii. 3.

similarity exists between the details of each of these systems, and those which prevailed in the Semitic and Canaanitish nations of Western Asia and Africa; but the attempt to identify each god and goddess under the various names of each mythological system, seems to us hopeless, and useless if practicable. It is enough that they can generally be referred to a common type, the generative powers of Nature manifested in the sexes, and fancifully connected with the sun and moon, and afterwards with the planets and stars.

M. Lajard, in his elaborate "Researches on the ancient worship of Venus," has propounded a system of the religion of the Ancient Assyrians, which differs in some respects from the suppositions mentioned above as to the origin and progress of idolatry. Some of his statements we shall present to our readers, merely premising that the supreme goddess of the Western Asiatics, called Mylitta, was analogous to the Venus of the Europeans.

According to this learned author, Mylitta, Alitta, Allileth or Alilat, and Gad, are Semitic terms, which at first expressed the ideas of mother or *genitrix*, night, and destiny or fortune. They represent the first chaotic night, or union of light and darkness; out of which all things were created by the word of the eternal, invisible, infinite, and omnipotent God. Baal, Bel, and Kronos, signify the light separated from the darkness; which latter was considered an evil deity, whose name in Assyrian is uncertain, (perhaps Sitna, =Satan); but in Zend is Ahriman.*

* The very ancient Vedas of the Hindoos, though they give to the

At a later epoch the religious system underwent a modification, retaining the same names, with different ideas. A Triad was supposed to preside over the three regions into which the created universe was apportioned. 1. Light uncreated, eternal; Time without bounds, or Eternity; Splendour *par excellence*. Of this principle the author knows not the Assyrian appellation. 2. Light of the created world; Time bounded; Revolution of the fixed heaven, or firmament; Splendour. The name of this principle was Baal or Bel. 3. Light of the moveable heaven, or that of the planets and constellations; Periodical Time; Revolution of the moveable heaven. The name of this principle was Mylitta, called also Belthes, or Baaltis, and Astarte.

Of these Mylitta had a triple character; 1. Queen of the moveable heaven; 2. Queen of the living, or of earth; 3. Queen of the dead, or of hell. To these titles she added the office of mediator between Bel and created beings; she pursued, and incessantly combated, Sitna, the enemy of God and of the universe.

The introduction of polytheism involved other changes. The separation of Baalim or Mylitta into sexes, the birth of Love, child of Bel and Mylitta, and the division of functions and attributes, gradually led to the supposition that the diverse manifestations or aspects of Bel and Mylitta were them-

celestial bodies, and to various other creatures, the title of deities, and command worship to be paid them, yet distinctly assert one Supreme Deity to be alone eternal, and the creating cause of the whole universe.—Rammohun Roy on the Vedant (*passim*). Lond. 1817.

selves divinities. Thus another system was introduced, in which there were represented seven immortals or principal deities, with Bel as their chief, of whom the planets* were the habitual residences,—and twenty-eight demi-gods or subordinate divinities, of whom Mylitta was the head, residing in the twenty-eight constellations, which answered to the twenty-eight lunar divisions.

But a fourth epoch came. Mylitta, after having been deprived successively of all her attributes, to make separate divinities, ceased to be subordinate to Bel, and became omnipotent and supreme in the mythological system. A very remarkable result of this modification was, that the Sun and the Moon changed sexes, the former becoming female in the new system, because the manifestation of a female divinity, and no longer that of a male or androgyne god. The moon on the other hand, was as suddenly transformed into a god of the masculine gender.

M. Lajard suggests the probability that this curious change may have resulted from a revolution that placed on the Assyrian throne some ambitious and highly-gifted woman.†

The names of the principal of the deities worshipped by the Assyrians, when their mythology had grown up into a system, have been recovered from the monumental inscriptions by the learning and industry of Colonel Rawlinson. They are As-sarac, Beltis, Bar (called also Seb, and Sur), Ani, Dagon, Nit, Artenk, Shemir (called also Husi),

* Viz. The Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.

† *Récherches sur le culte de Vénus. (Passim.)*

Lama, Horus, Tal, Set, Sut, Rha, Hem, Nebo, Astarte, Bel, Sheshach, Merodach, Gad, and Minni. The first five of these are called in the inscriptions of Sardanapalus, "the principal of the gods;" and Assarac, "the great lord, the king of all the great gods," "the great and powerful god," "the father of the gods," is always placed at the head of the catalogue, as the special divinity of Assyria. Colonel Rawlinson feels almost certain that this name represents the Biblical Nisroch, the god of Sennacherib, in whose temple he was slain while engaged in worship. He considers this supposition confirmed by the fact that "the Septuagint, who wrote while the god in question was still probably worshipped on the banks of the Tigris, and who may thus be supposed to have been familiar with the title, replaced the Hebrew נִסְרוֹךְ by Ἀσραάχ in one passage, and Ἐσραάχ in another."* This learned philologist shows that the country of Assyria was named after Assarac, its tutelar divinity, the same word being applied to both the land and the god, not only in its full and complete spelling, but also in that of an abbreviated monogram; and suggests that the deity in question was the Asshur of the Hebrew scriptures, the founder of the nation, who in after times became invested by his descendants with divine attributes.

Beltis is called the "protector, mother of the gods." This was probably the same as Astarte of

* It is right, however, to mention that all the editions of the Septuagint, made from the Vatican Codex, read Νασραάχ in Isaiah xxxvii. 38, and Μισραάχ in 2 Kings xix. 37: the Complut. Polygl. reads Νισραάχ in the former passage.

the Phœnicians and Ashtoreth of the Sacred Scriptures; that "Queen of Heaven," to whose abominable rites the Hebrew people were so incorrigibly addicted in the later periods of the monarchy. The Ken of the Egyptian hieroglyphics was manifestly the same goddess, and is represented in the same manner, a female figure standing on a lion's back. On a rock tablet at Malthaiyah, near Mosul, she is so figured, clothed with a long plain robe reaching to the elbows and to the ankles, with a high square mitre on her head furnished with three pairs of encircling horns, and surmounted by the sun's disk.*

The Mylitta of Babylon, and the Alitta, or Alilat of the Arabians (Herod.) were but other names of the same object of worship; which under some modifications passed into the Juno, Venus, &c., of the classic mythology. She was worshipped in association with Baal, (of which Beltis,=Baaltis, is but the feminine form,) typifying the moon, as that renowned and wide-spread idol represented the sun. The earliest form of decided apostasy from Jehovah into which Israel fell, was the worship of these associated demons, Baal and Ashtoreth; and their abominable rites seem to have been retained by that infatuated people with a tenacity that resisted all the warnings of God's messengers, and all the chastisements of His hand, and at length brought about the overthrow of their monarchy and their national captivity. Almost as soon as they obtained possession of the promised land, they turned aside "like a deceitful bow."

* Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii. 212.

And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the LORD, and served Baalim : and they forsook the LORD God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods, of the gods of the people that were round about them, and bowed themselves unto them, and provoked the LORD to anger. And they forsook the LORD, and served Baal and Ashtaroth. Judg. ii. 11-13.

And the burning incense to Baal, and the offering of cakes to the Queen of heaven were the solemn accusations over and over again brought by Jehovah against His people by the mouth of His prophets, when the King of Babylon was now even at their gates.

Seest thou not what they do in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem? The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto other gods, that they may provoke me to anger. Jer. vii. 17, 18.

For according to the number of thy cities were thy gods, O Judah ; and according to the number of the streets of Jerusalem have ye set up altars to that shameful thing, even altars to burn incense unto Baal. Jer. xi. 13.

And the Chaldeans that fight against this city, shall come and set fire on this city, and burn it, with the houses, upon whose roofs they have offered incense unto Baal, and poured out drink-offerings unto other gods to provoke me to anger. Jer. xxxii. 29.

Ashtoreth is specially called the goddess of the Zidonians in 1 Kings xi. 5, and 2 Kings xxiii. 13, to whom Solomon built a temple on the mount of Olives. Her worship was accompanied with rites and customs of abominable uncleanness, and was often celebrated in groves, which on that account participated in the idolatrous veneration with which the goddess was regarded, and became the objects of divine denunciation. Jezebel, the wicked wife of

Ahab, herself a Zidonian, maintained four hundred prophets of the groves, when Baal's prophets were four hundred and fifty men. (1 Kings xviii. 19.) It is thought, however, by some, that the word, אֲשֶׁרֶת rendered "*groves*," may, at least in some cases, have been only another name for Ashteroth, as in Judges iii. 7; denoting especially her relation to the planet Venus. For Baal and Astarte, among the Phœnicians, originally considered as representatives of the sun and moon, came in after times to be identified with the planets Jupiter and Venus, as the stars of good fortune. A star was the common emblem of the latter, but Sanchoniathon says that she adopted the head of a bull as her symbol: hence she became Ashtaroth Karnaim, or "the two-horned;" the diverging and upturning horns denoting her relationship to the moon:—

"Astarte, queen of heaven, with crescent horns."

Perhaps the Chiun* spoken of by Amos (v. 26,) which, under the symbol of a star, the Israelites are accused of worshipping even in the wilderness, was but another form of the same obscene divinity, especially as associated with the bloody worship of Moloch, which, as appears likely from Jer. xxxii. 35, was the Ammonite title of Baal.† Sir W. Jones supposes the name to be the same as the Chiven of the Hindoo mythology, which represents the power of reproduction, in this respect agreeing with Ashta-

* Selden, however, (*De Diis Syriis*) considers Chiun to be the same as Saturn or Kronos, on the authority of Aben Ezra.

† The identity of Baal and Moloch has been inferred from an ancient Tyrian inscription found at Malta. (See *Penn. Cycl.*; art. BAAL.)

roth. The LXX render the name by the word, Rhaiphan (Ῥαιφάν); which Stephen (Acts vii. 43,) alters to Remphan (Ῥεμφάν).

It is interesting to find the name of Dagon among the gods which Col. Rawlinson has identified. This was the favourite god of the Philistines, a maritime nation, who represented him by a monstrous combination of a human head, arms, and chest, united to the belly and tail of a fish. The temple at Gaza dedicated to this idol was the scene of Samson's last and greatest exploit; and in another at Ashdod, Dagon himself was humbled before the captive ark of Jehovah.

And the Philistines took the ark of God, and brought it from Ebenezer unto Ashdod. When the Philistines took the ark of God, they brought it into the house of Dagon, and set it by Dagon. And when they of Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth before the ark of the Lord. And they took Dagon, and set him in his place again. And when they arose early on the morrow morning, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold; only the stump (or, the fishy part, *mary.*)^o of Dagon was left to him. Therefore neither the priests of Dagon, nor any that come into Dagon's house, tread on the threshold of Dagon in Ashdod unto this day. 1 Sam. v. 1-5.

Whether any connexion existed between the name of this god, who, as we have seen, was worshipped in common by the inhabitants of Assyria, and by the Philistines of the Mediterranean shore, and the sea-monsters, half man, half fish, whom Chaldean tradition declared to have appeared on the southern confines of Babylonia, we cannot tell. The name Oannes, applied to the first of these fabulous beings,

has been rather fancifully supposed to be the same as Noah, altered by transposition; and Dagon has been resolved into Dag-aun, or Dag-Oannes, the ship (fish?) of Noah.* The resemblance of the name Dagon to Odacon, by which the last of these traditional fish-men was distinguished, is remarkable, and has been noticed by Selden. In the Phœnician system Dagon was the brother of Astarte.

In an elaborate sculpture of the later Assyrian period occurs a scene which we shall describe hereafter. It is an expedition against some maritime



DAGON.

place of strength apparently on the Syrian coast. Among other tutelary divinities, the expedition is accompanied by Dagon, who is drawn more than once among the ships, just in the form described above.

To the body and tail of a fish, extended horizontally in the sea, are affixed the perpendicular trunk and fore parts of a man, invested with the sacred cap, and elevating his right hand. Similar figures occur on cylinders.

Shemir, or Husi, "who presides over the heavens and the earth," seems to have been considered the tutelary divinity of the Armenian highlands; for in the Obelisk inscriptions, Temen-bar records his having crossed the upper Euphrates, and ascended to the tribes who worshipped the god Husi." And the

* Taylor's *Calmet*; *arts.* DAGON, and DELUGE.

enumeration of geographical names, found on the Khorsabad slabs, supposed by Col. Rawlinson to mark the limits of the empire, commences thus; "From Yetnán, a land sacred to the god Husi, as far as Misr and Mesek (or Lower and Upper Egypt);" whence we may conclude Yetnán to be the north-western, as Egypt was the south-western boundary. The word Shemir, with which Husi is a synonym, forms an element in the name of Shemirhem, one of the Assyrian sovereigns, which reminds us of the Semiramis of the Greek writers. The use of the names of their gods in composition, we know to have been a custom among the Chaldees in forming human names, as it was among the Hebrews. Thus we have the element Nebo in Nebuzaradan, Nebushasban, Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonassar, Nabopalasar, &c.; Baal or Bel, in Baladan, Belshazzar, Belteshazzar, &c. And among the Assyrians themselves we have the name of Assar in Sardanapalus, (= Assar-adan-pal,) Detarasar, Shalmaneser, Esarhaddon, as well as in several of the Babylonian names just enumerated. Col. Rawlinson considers Shemir to be the sun, while Dr. Hincks thinks it undoubtedly to be the moon.

The god Hem, whom Temen-bar, in the Obelisk inscription, associates with Assarac and Nebo as the three objects of his worship at Calah, is "a well-known Assyrian deity, who, as his figure is usually accompanied on the cylinders by a symbol representing 'flame,' may be supposed to be connected with the Baal Haman of the Phœnician cippi (see also Cant. viii. 11), and the Hamânim or 'sun-images' on the altars

of Baal, mentioned so frequently in Scripture, (as 2 Chron. xxxiv. 4; &c.). The name may also have some affinity with that of Chemosh "the abomination of the Moabites, (1 Kings xi. 7, 33; Jer. xlviii. *passim*), and the god of the children of Ammon, (Judg. xi. 24).

Bel or Baal, already several times alluded to, signifies *Lord*, the former being the Chaldee, the latter the Hebrew form. No idol is more frequently mentioned in Holy Scripture than this, and to the worship of none were the people of Israel more incorrigibly attached. He appears to have been worshipped by all the western Asiatics, but especially by the Phœnicians and the Babylonians. A magnificent temple was devoted to him at Babylon, which was plundered by Xerxes.

We have already intimated that Baal originally signified the sun, the source of light and heat to the natural world; or rather, perhaps, the deity supposed to animate and inhabit the sun. Sanchoniathon tells us that the Phœnicians worshipped the sun as the only Lord of heaven, called Beelsamen, (בעלשמן) and that this Beelsamen was the Greek Zeus. In the Septuagint, Baal is sometimes rendered Hercules (*Ἡρακλῆς*), called in the Phœnician language *Or-cul*, i.e., Light of all. By mythologists he has been identified also with Jupiter, with Saturn, with Mars; sometimes he represented the male type of the moon, and was figured, like Astarte, with crescent horns, and with a bovine head. His worship, too, was accompanied with abominable lasciviousness, as that Moabitish Baal-Peor, to whom

Israel joined themselves so fatally in the plains of Shittim; and, if he was the same as Moloch, with most unnatural cruelties, parents offering their infant offspring to him through the fire.

Some have supposed Baal-Peor to have been identical with Chemosh, the Moabitish abomination, to whom Solomon was seduced to erect a temple. Thus Milton says:—

“ ———Chemos, th’ obscene dread of Moab’s sons,

Peor his other name, when he enticed

Israel in Sittim, on their march from Nile,

To do him wanton rites which cost them woe.”

The later names in the list gathered from Col. Rawlinson’s readings, are chiefly interesting because they occur in the Sacred Scriptures, for the most part in connexion with Babylon at the time of its approaching ruin. As we believe, however, that there is some doubt upon their recognition, and as we have nothing of importance to say upon them, we dismiss them with this slight notice.

Direct representations of idols are not common in the Assyrian sculptures. The most remarkable is one assigned to a late period, in which Assyrian warriors are carrying images in procession. The solemn ceremonial manner in which they are borne seems to forbid the notion that has been suggested, that these are the idols of a conquered people borne in triumph by the victors; since we know from Scripture that it was the Assyrian custom to destroy with contempt the gods of their conquered enemies.

Of a truth, LORD, the kings of Assyria have destroyed the nations and their lands, and have cast their gods into the fire: for they were no gods

but the work of men's hands, wood and stone: therefore they have destroyed them. 2 Kings xix. 17, 18.

And in a bas-relief from Khorsabad, representing the plunder of an Armenian town, Assyrian warriors are seen engaged in chopping, limb from limb, a human



THE DESTRUCTION OF AN IDOL.

figure, which appears intended for an idol.* We should suppose the figures in the procession, therefore, to be the gods worshipped by those on whose shoulders they are carried, especially as Holy Scripture alludes to such a mode of carrying the idols, in immediate connexion with the Babylonian Bel and Nebo, and in contrast with the degrading manner in which they were to be transported into captivity.

* The soldiers of Alexander tore limb from limb the statues that they found in the sack of Persepolis; but that was the result of brutal violence mingling with a cupidity that envied the possession of the precious metals of which they were composed. (See J. Curt. v. 6.) The incident depicted on the bas-relief was an orderly division of the object, as appears from the scales in which the parts were to be weighed. The marks near the neck of the prostrate figure do not represent blood, but merely indicate that the stone of the bas-relief has suffered injury there.

Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth, their idols were upon the beasts, and upon the cattle: your carriages were heavy laden; they are a burden to the weary beast. They stoop, they bow down together; they could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity.

They lavish gold out of the bag, and weigh silver in the balance, and hire a goldsmith; and he maketh it a god: they fall down, yea, they worship. They *bear him upon the shoulder*, they carry him, and set him in his place, and he standeth; from his place shall he not remove: yea, one shall cry unto him, yet can he not answer, nor save him out of his trouble. Isa. xlvi. 1-7.

The Apocryphal epistle of Jeremy, which, though not of canonical authority, is yet of undoubted antiquity, (See 2 Maccab. ii. 2,) contains many interesting particulars concerning the gods which, in his day, were worshipped at Babylon. Among these the practice represented in this bas-relief is mentioned. "Now shall ye see in Babylon gods of silver, and of gold, and of wood, *borne upon shoulders*, which cause the nations to fear. . . They are borne upon shoulders, having no feet, whereby they declare unto men that they be nothing worth." (Baruch vi. 4, 26.)

In this procession four idols are represented, each carried on the shoulders of four men; we do not, however, see the whole, for the scene is but a fragment; the foremost quaternion was preceded by one at least, (how many more we know not), for the two hinder porters, and the extremity of the platform which they carry, are seen at the edge of the slab. The first then that appears is a female clothed in a long robe, of a pattern somewhat like our plaids, the hair flowing down on the shoulders in two masses of curls; she wears a square mitre, embraced by three pairs of horns, and crowned above with a

star or sun. She is seated in a straight high-backed chair, sidewise to the spectator, but with the face turned towards us in full. In her right hand is a fan, and in her left a thick ring.

The second figure is also a female, almost exactly identical with her predecessor. She is, however, in profile; her square mitre has only one horn on each side, and the fan in the right hand is replaced by an object not very clear, but resembling a massive oval ring.

The third idol is not more than half-size, a standing figure, at the front of a box or shrine, slightly projecting at the top, and reminding one of the box often used to shelter a clergyman while performing the burial service in bad weather. This box is placed on a high chair, the back of which is surmounted by a ball. The idol is only partially exposed, but it is beardless, and therefore female; appears to have a round cap, destitute of horns; is clothed in a robe reaching to the feet, and bears in the left hand a ring, in the right an uncertain object. There are trifling variations of form in the chairs or thrones of all these three.

The fourth is a male figure in the act of walking; he is clothed in a tunic of similar pattern, reaching to the knees, his arms and legs bare; like the goddesses, he is girt with a broad girdle. His head is uncovered, his hair and beard copious, and curled in the usual manner; two pairs of horns, of bovine form, spring from his head, and project in a double curve, before and behind. His right hand wields an axe, his left grasps, by the middle, three waved

beams, representing, in the manner afterwards familiar in the Greek and Roman representations of Jove, the lightnings or thunderbolts.

These figures agree very nearly with the deities which Diodorus tells us were worshipped in the great temple at Babylon, and whom he names Belus, Aera, and Rhac. The first of these was in a walking posture, the second standing; the third, seated in a chair of gold. We may suppose one of the females to have been Mylitta, Beltis, or Astarte, but which of them, and who are represented by the other two we cannot determine. It is possible, that, in the later times of the empire, the attributes, and even the names, formerly united in one divinity, may have come to be assigned to separate deities, and that these appellations Beltis, Mylitta, and Astarte, may, at one time, have been synonymous, and at another, distinct.

There is a remarkable representation, not uncommon on the monuments, even of the early period, which appears to symbolise the supreme Deity. It is a circle furnished with the expanded wings of a bird, within which is placed a human figure, crowned with the sacred or bull-horned cap, but merging from the waist downward into the spread tail of a bird. This seems the only object to which the act of worship is represented. "The king is generally standing or kneeling beneath this figure in the circle, his hand raised in sign of prayer or adoration. . . . The same symbol is also seen above him when in battle, and during his triumphal return. It is never represented above any person of inferior rank, but

appears to watch especially over the monarch, who was probably typical of the nation. When over the king in battle, it shoots against the enemies of the Assyrians an arrow, which has a head in the shape of a trident. If it presides over a triumph, its action resembles that of the king, the right hand being elevated, and the left holding the unbent bow; if over a religious ceremony, it carries a ring, or raises the extended right hand."* Sometimes the human bust is not seen, the circle furnished with wings and tail, or with wings alone, seeming to be substituted for the more complete form.



Symbols, more or less closely resembling these, are common, not only on Chaldaic monuments, but also on those of Persia, of the Achaemenian dynasty, and even on those of Old Egypt. Mr. Vaux states that the figures represent on the Persian sculptures the beings called *Ferothers*, tutelary spirits or angels; the supposed prototypes or representatives of every reasonable being that was destined to appear upon the earth. It is remarkable that spiritual beings of high power and authority seem spoken of in the Book of Daniel, as having peculiar guardianship, either for good or evil, over nations; but the very limited ex-

* Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii. 447.

tent of our acquaintance with the angelic world, precludes almost any attempt to explain passages so enigmatical. It is the part of humble faith to receive the revelations of the Spirit of God, whether we can explain them or not.*

But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one and twenty days : but, lo, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me ; and I remained there with the kings of Persia.

and now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia : and when I am gone forth, lo, the prince of Grecia shall come. But I will show thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth : and there is none that holdeth with me in these things, but Michael your prince.

Also I in the first year of Darius the Mede, even I, stood to confirm and to strengthen him.

And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people. Dan. x. 13, 20, 21 ; xi. 1 ; xii. 1.

The notion of guardian deities seems to have been familiar to the Assyrians long before the rise of the Persian monarchy, as we have seen in Col. Rawlinson's readings of the inscriptions. Assarac or Asshur was the tutelary of Assyria ; it is therefore no wonder that Assyrian worshippers should assign to him the chief place in the national honour, and even address him as the principal of the gods ; and thus the characters, which at first seem inconsistent, of supreme deity, and Feroher or guardian angel, might easily be united in him who was figured under the symbol of the god of the winged circle.

There is, however, another object commonly present in scenes representing religious homage ; and

* I would refer the reader to some interesting observations on this subject in an article entitled " The Ministry of Angels," in Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Literature* for January, 1852, pp. 296, 297.

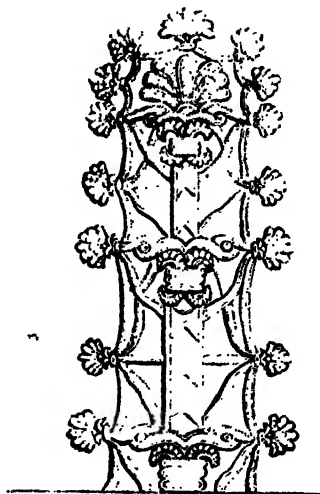
that occupying a position immediately before the worshipper; or, if there be two associated worshippers, then between them as they stand face to face. It is commonly called "the sacred tree," and appears to have been originally intended for the long twining stems of the honeysuckle trained into a regular form, and studded with its graceful flowers.* Sometimes, however, other flowers and fruits, of conventional forms, and fir cones, took the place of the original blossoms.

Mr. Fergusson, in his learned treatise on Assyrian architecture, thinks this to be the object of idolatrous homage already alluded to, the Asherah (אשרה) of the Scriptures, commonly rendered "groves." After referring to an opinion of an eminent philologist, D. Margoliouth, formed without any knowledge of this Assyrian emblem, that the Asherah was a symbolical tree, representing the host of heaven,—he adds: "The proof, however, of the matter must rest with the Bible itself; but I think no one can read the passages referring to the worship of the groves, without seeing that they do not mean a group of trees, but just such an emblem or idol as this." He then cites many passages bearing on the question, particularly 1 Kings xiv. 23, where "groves" are spoken of as "built" "*under every green tree*;"—2 Kings xxi. 7, where Manasseh is described as setting a *graven image* of the grove in

* Sir A. Burnes, in his Journey from India to Tartary and Persia, through Cabool, (i. 217,) noticed a hedge of honeysuckles near Koondooz, which delighted him, because he had never before seen the flower in the east.

the temple ; Ib. xxiii. 6, 15, where Josiah brings out the grove from the house of the Lord, and burns the grove that Jeroboam had made at Bethel. He further insists on the manner in which graven and molten images are grouped with groves, leaving little doubt that they were considered one and the same thing; and finally concludes that Asherah represents "the host of heaven, or all the stars, except the planets." *

The king is frequently represented as worshipping before the sacred tree, beneath the Feroher or guar-



SACRED TREE.

dian deity in the air. He sometimes stands, sometimes kneels on one knee, with open hands, one of which is uplifted, as in prayer. Occasionally two

* The Palaces of Nineveh and Persopolis, 301, *et seq.*

kings are represented, one on each side of the tree, towards which they look; but as they are the exact counterparts of each other in dress, countenance, and position, they may be supposed to be merely a duplicate image of the same person and action. Behind the king when thus engaged, stands a figure of singular appearance. He is clothed in a long fringed robe, sometimes elaborately embroidered, and commonly wears a round cap, embraced by one, two, or three pairs of horns, formed like those of a bull, which, springing from each side, curve round to the front, where the points of all nearly meet. The horns have this peculiarity, that they do not project from the head, but continue in contact with the cap through their whole length. This sacred or horned cap we shall frequently have occasion to mention. Sometimes the summit of the cap is plain, at others it is finished by an ornament resembling a trident or a fleur-de-lis.

The figure is further distinguished by two pairs of eagle-wings, which spring from the shoulders, one pointing upward, the other downward. These four wings seem characteristic of the sacred person before us, by which he may always be identified; some or other of his accompaniments are from time to time lacking, according to the occupation in which he is engaged; but the wings are, with scarce an exception, always present, though sometimes only one of each pair is depicted.

We think there can be no doubt that these characters are intended to represent the priestly office. Figures so portrayed attend the king when he wor-

ships before the sacred tree, and hold sacred symbols; the most common of which is the cone of the pine-tree elevated in the right hand, and a little basket suspended in the left. Occasionally the cone is exchanged for a branch bearing pine-cones and flowers alternately, for a branch of honeysuckle, for a bunch of pomegranates, or an ear of barley. And instead of the basket, the priest sometimes carries a mace, or bears on his left arm, a goat, a fallow deer, or a lamb. Sometimes one on each side of the tree, holds up a goat in the air by the hind leg: at another time one carries a wide flat tray on his head; and at another he holds two ostriches by the necks. Sometimes two priests, without the king, are seen engaged in worship before the sacred tree, presenting the pine-cone and basket, or kneeling on one knee with outspread hands; and occasionally they surround the king, with the same sacred emblems, in company of the eunuchs and officers of the court when he sits in state on the royal throne.

Priests are frequently represented as holding or slaying imaginary or symbolic animals;—perhaps a sphinx, which the priest holds by one fore paw raised high, and prepares to strike with a sword. It is observable that this design, which occurs in the embroidery on a robe, answers to another, almost exactly the same, except that the priest is without wings.

In one instance, figured in the embroidery of the royal robe, a priest is seen holding in each hand a lion by one of its hind legs, while the animals are each seizing with talons and teeth a bull by the



WINGED PRIEST. 6

throat. The figure has the peculiarity of being drawn in full face, instead of profile, and the head, which has no cap, is furnished with two crescent-horns.

Generally the winged priests are bearded men; but in one or two instances beardless figures are so represented, which, from the contour of the features, seem not to be eunuchs, but women. Two of these are seen over the sacred tree, similarly robed, capped, and winged to the priests, and bearing daggers stuck in the girdle; each holds the right hand open and elevated, and grasps a rosary or garland in the left. Another holds two sphinxes by one hind leg in each hand, which turn their heads to look at her. Another is encircled by a sort of chain or *guilloche* of intertwined bands, which she holds up in her hands; it seems to be fastened to fetters around her wrists and ankles, and is attached to each wing. These may possibly be eunuchs after all.

We feel inclined to associate with the sacerdotal office, also, another figure very common in the sculptures, which has attracted considerable attention,—the man with the head of a vulture. It was at first thought that this represented the Nisroch, in whose temple Sennacherib was slain, after the miraculous destruction of his army.

So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh. And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of Armenia. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead. 2 Kings xix. 36, 37.

This conclusion originated in the supposition that

Nisroch, נִסְרוֹךְ, is derived from neshar, נֶשֶׁר, *an eagle*, which is very doubtful, even if we do not receive Col. Rawlinson's notion of the identity of Nisroch with Assarac. The vulture-headed figure is certainly not a god at all; in every other respect than the head it agrees with the priests already described; it wears the same garments, carries the same symbols, the cone and basket, and performs the same actions, whether of worship or of the slaughter of symbolic animals. But the identity of office between the two forms is indubitably shown by two figures embroidered on the robe of a king.* Each occupies a square compartment, the one answering to the other as a pair. Each kneels on one knee, holding the pine-cone and basket, each is four-winged, nor is there any difference between them except that the one is vulture-headed, the other is human and wears the sacred one-horned cap.

Occasionally, as in a bas-relief from Khorsabad,† the two forms are associated in worship. The vulture-priest carries the cone and basket, while behind him stands a diademed priest with a pomegranate branch, and the right hand uplifted.

The occipital ridge-like crest shows that the bird intended to be represented is the Egyptian Vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*), as a glance at the figure in Mr. Gould's magnificent "Birds of Europe" will prove. This is the common vulture of Western Asia and North Africa, where it is called by the Arabs *Rachamah*. This is manifestly identical with the רַחְמָה of Deut. xiv. 17, translated "gier-eagle;"

* Layard's Mon. of Nin. pl. 50.

† Botta, pl. 74 and 75.

another proof that the Assyrian figure has no connexion with נשר.



VULTURE-HEADED PRIEST.

We would venture to suggest the probability that both the wings and the vulture-head were parts of

the priestly dress, so formed as to be put on or off as occasion required.*

What was the purport of the individual symbols or utensils, used in the religious services, so frequently depicted on the monuments, it would be difficult if not impossible now to ascertain. The cone of the cypress and the honeysuckle tree were connected with the worship of Mylitta, the oriental Venus, to whom the pomegranate among fruits was sacred; no blood was offered to her, but living animals of the male sex, especially kids. The presentation of a branch of flowers and fruits, so frequent in these acts of adoration may be alluded to in a passage of Sacred Writ which has given rise to some conjecture among critics.

Then he said unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? Is it a light thing to the house of Judah that they commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the land with violence, and have returned to provoke me to anger: and, lo, *they put the branch to their nose.* Ezek. viii. 17.

The basket commonly carried in the left hand of the ministering priest may possibly have contained incense, or else the cakes of dough which formed a prominent part of the offerings in the worship of Venus.

The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto other gods, that they may provoke me to anger. Jer. vii. 18.

4

* Herodotus tells us that the oriental Ethiopians in Xerxes' army wore on their heads masks made of the skins of horses' heads, stripped off with the ears and mane; the mane serving for a crest, and the ears standing erect.—Herod. vii. 70.

And when we burned incense to the queen of heaven, and poured out drink-offerings unto her, did we make her cakes to worship her, and pour out drink-offerings unto her, without our men? Jer. xliv. 19.

The classic writers inform us that the offering of cakes made of flour, salt, honey, and oil, was a custom of great antiquity, and preceded (but in this they were mistaken) the use of animal sacrifices. Horace says,—

“A graceful cake, when on the hallowed shrine
Offer'd by hands that know no guilty stain,
Shall reconcile th' offended powers divine,
When bleeds the pompous hecatomb in vain.”

Ode xxiii.

We might also mention the twelve cakes or loaves of shew-bread, which constantly stood upon the golden altar in the tabernacle and temple of Jehovah.

But what is more to the purpose is, that Homer repeatedly informs us that the cakes offered in sacrifice were presented in baskets. Thus, in Nestor's sacrifice to Pallas, on the occasion of the visit of Telemachus,

—————Aretus brought
A laver in one hand, with flowers emboss'd,
And in his other hand *a basket stored*
With cakes. Cowper's *Odys.* iii. 550.

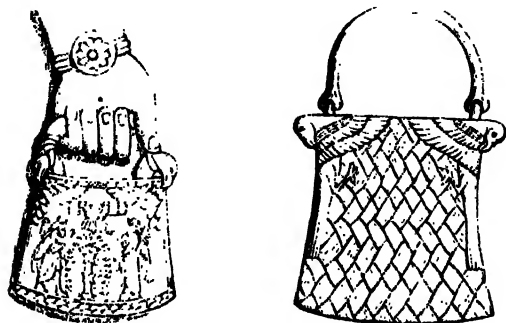
And Penelope, in the absence of her son on the same errand,

—————*A basket stored*
With hallowed cakes to Pallas off'ring, pray'd.
Ibid. iv. 919.

The Institutes of Menu declare (vi. 54) a *basket*

made of reeds to be a fit vessel for receiving the food of Brahmins devoted to God.

Whatever the application of the sacred basket may



have been, it was one of the most indispensable utensils of the Assyrian worship. It appears to have been square, and about as deep as wide, that is, about five inches; with a handle apparently of wire passing in a bow from one side to the opposite. In the earliest forms, as on the Nimroud sculptures, it was generally either plain, with a narrow elegant border, or else ornamented with an embossed representation of the worship to which it was consecrated, the sides displaying figures of priests over the sacred tree. At a later epoch, as at Khorsabad, it took the appearance of plaited or interwoven work, like matting in texture. But probably it was¹ always formed of metal, and this pattern may have been given in allusion to the original rude basket of wicker, which may have been used in primitive times. Here we

occasionally see it of a different form, being narrow, and deep, and rounded at the bottom.



HUMAN-HEADED LION.

Before we close this very imperfect notice of the Assyrian idolatry, as gathered from the monuments, we must speak of the strange compound animal forms that occupy so prominent a place on them. They who have looked upon the gigantic human-headed winged lion and bull, that now adorn the great lobby of the British Museum, may conjecture the imposing effect produced by such colossal guardians when stationed at either side of the portals that opened into every hall of the temple-palaces of Assyria. Carved

in bold, almost full relief, their muscular well-knit limbs, their gigantic dimensions towering to twice the stature of man, their expanding eagle-pinions, and the awful majesty of their human countenances as they frowned down from their imposing elevation upon the spectators, must have impressed upon the latter a deep feeling of the greatness and sacredness of the beings they were intended to adumbrate.

But what ideas were intended to be conveyed by these strange mythic forms? Were they idols in the strict sense, objects of direct adoration? Some have thought they were. Others have considered them rather as embodiments to sense of abstract qualities, intellect, strength, ubiquity. The emblem which shadowed forth in vision to the Jewish prophet the Babylonian kingdom, might suggest,—especially remembering that in other cases, as those of the Persian ram and the Macedonian goat, nationally recognised emblems were so chosen,—that under these monstrous combinations of heterogeneous forms was couched a symbolic representation of the Assyrian empire, of which the Babylonian was but a sort of reproduction.

And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it. Dan. vii. 3, 4.

It seems manifest that they were ¹not gods. Their proper position at the entrance-gates of the edifices, and not in the sanctuaries or *adyta*, their absence from the scenes which represent worship, and the rela-

tions which they sometimes sustain to the priests, show this. In the ornamental embroidery of a royal robe there is represented* a vulture-headed priest who runs up to meet a human-headed, winged lion, adorned with the sacred three-horned cap, and seizes him by the fore-paw, while with the other hand he prepares to strike the gigantic monster with a flexible weapon, somewhat like an india-rubber life-preserver. The fear depicted in the countenance of the bearded monster, as he draws himself strongly but vainly back from the grasp of his assailant, contrasts strikingly with the rage and eagerness conveyed by the aspect and action of the latter.

A similar scene is depicted in another part of the robe,† with a slight variation; the lion-man is looking over his shoulder, as if imploring help from behind.

In a hunting-scene, likewise embroidered,‡ the king in his chariot shoots a wild bull; before him a vulture-priest has pursued and caught by the tail a human-headed, winged lion, and is smiting him with a mace. The strange prey looks back and strives to escape, while another in the distance gallops off, glancing back at his fellow's danger.

These representations are conclusive that divinities were not intended by the compound animals; and we can hardly suppose that the artist would have depicted them on the royal robes as subject to such indignities, if they had been considered as emblems of the nation itself.

* Layard's *Mon. of Nin.* pl. 45.

† *Ibid.* pl. 48.

‡ *Ibid.* pl. 49.

The similarity of these forms to the cherubim, seen in vision by Ezekiel, has been often noticed ; and it is the more worthy of remark, because that vision was seen by that prophet "in the land of the Chaldeans, by the river Chebar," at no great distance from the mighty city, which, with its sculptured bas-reliefs and magnificent imagery, was in all probability familiar to his gaze.

And I looked, and, behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself, and a brightness was about it, and out of the midst thereof as the colour of amber, out of the midst of the fire. Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance ; they had the likeness of a man. And every one had four faces, and every one had four wings. And their feet were straight feet : the sole of their feet was like the sole of a calf's foot : and they sparkled like the colour of burnished brass. And they had the hands of a man under their wings on their four sides ; and they four had their faces and their wings. Their wings were joined one to another ; they turned not when they went ; they went every one straight forward. As for the likeness of their faces, they four had the face of a man, and the face of a lion, on the right side : and they four had the face of an ox on the left side ; they four also had the face of an eagle. Thus were their faces : and their wings were stretched upward ; two wings of every one were joined one to another, and two covered their bodies. And they went every one straight forward : whither the spirit was to go, they went ; and they turned not when they went. As for the likeness of the living creatures, their appearance was like burning coals of fire, and like the appearance of lamps : it went up and down among the living creatures ; and the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning. And the living creatures ran and returned as the appearance of a flash of lightning. Ezek. i. 4—14.

This is the living creature that I saw under the God of Israel by the river of Chebar ; and I knew that they were the cherubims. Every one had four faces apiece, and every one four wings ; and the likeness of the hands of a man was under their wings. And the likeness of their faces was the same faces which I saw by the river of Chebar, their appearances and themselves : they went every one straight forward. Ezek. x. 20—22.

It is not said *how* he “knew that they were the cherubim;” but, as a priest, Ezekiel must have been familiar with those which were graven on the walls (2 Chron. iii. 7) of Solomon’s temple, which were carved with palm-trees and open flowers upon the doors, and which were interchanged with oxen and lions on the bases of the brazen lavers (1 Kings vi. 32–35; vii. 29, 36); and he must have often heard of those gigantic forms which expanded their wings above the ark within the Holy of Holies.

And within the oracle he made two cherubims of olive tree, each ten cubits high. And five cubits was the one wing of the cherub, and five cubits the other wing of the cherub: from the uttermost part of the one wing unto the uttermost part of the other were ten cubits. And the other cherub was ten cubits: both the cherubims were of one measure and one size. The height of the one cherub was ten cubits, and so was it of the other cherub. And he set the cherubims within the inner house; and they stretched forth the wings of the cherubims, so that the wing of the one touched the one wall, and the wing of the other cherub touched the other wall; and their wings touched one another in the midst of the house. And he overlaid the cherubims with gold. 1 Kings vi. 23–28.

But much earlier than Solomon’s time the forms of the cherubim were known to Israel; for they were placed upon the mercy-seat within the tabernacle soon after the departure from Egypt. And it is remarkable that while the most minute directions were given for the construction of the tabernacle, the altars, the utensils and vessels of the sanctuary, and the vestments of the priests, no such particularity is observed in the command to make the cherubim. The simple behest,—“Thou shalt make two cherubim of gold,” seems indubitably to imply a knowledge of the form already existing. And whence came

that knowledge, if it was not handed down by tradition from those who before the flood had seen the awful forms that stood at the eastern entrance of the garden of Eden, guarding the access to the Tree of Life.

These compound animal forms were common to the nations of antiquity. In Egypt, under the form of sphinxes, they were placed at the entrances of their temples, sometimes in long rows or avenues, as in that grand one leading from the Temple of Luxor to that of Karnak. At Persepolis, at Babylon,* and at Nineveh, they stood at the portals of the magnificent palaces. At Ellora, in India, they are seen in an ancient temple of surpassing grandeur; and the Greeks and Romans borrowed and preserved similar mysterious forms.

The very extensive prevalence of this idea around the cradle of the human race, and the very remote antiquity to which it may be traced,—for in Egypt it must have been embodied almost immediately after the deluge,—seem to point to an antediluvian origin. And we cannot but concur in the opinion expressed by the learned Rösenmüller on Exod. xxv. in his Scholia. “The Cherubim,” observes this critic, “were fictitious [symbolic?] animals, compounded of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle, as described in Ezek. i. 6, *et seq.* It is stated (Gen. iii. 24) that they were placed by God as the guards of Paradise. Hence the cherubim came to be symbols of sacred

* Berossus describes many of these compound forms, and says that delineations of them were preserved in the Temple of Bel at Babylon.—See Cory's *Anc. Frag.* p. 24. Ed. 1832.

things and places, *which it was not lawful to approach*. The sphinxes of the Egyptians, the dragons of the Greeks, and the griffins of the Indians and northern nations of Asia, are similar both in form and signification to the cherubim of the Hebrews. For they, also, are described as fictitious winged creatures, compounded from various animals, *and guardians of things or places to which access was forbidden*. Great wisdom was frequently ascribed to them; and this was especially the case with regard to the sphinxes, —animals having the face of a man, the body of a lion or ox, and the wings of an eagle."

If then we suppose these various combinations of diverse animal forms to have been conventional embodiments of the angelic cherubim, we may possibly find in this suggestion an explanation which will meet all the circumstances in which they are represented. The leading idea appears to be that of *guardianship over sacred places*. This was expressly the office of the cherubim at the gate of Eden; they precluded intrusion into the garden; "they kept the way of the tree of life."[•] Their position over the ark of the covenant, both in the tabernacle and in the temple, overshadowing it with their wings; their portraiture all over the walls within the oracle; on the veil that screened the most holy place in both the tabernacle and the temple; on the door of the oracle; on the door of the temple; and on the curtains of the tabernacle,—forbad intrusion. In the temple they were sculptured on the ten lavers (1 Kings vii. 29, 36), in which the sacrifices of burnt offering were washed (2 Chron. iv. 6), but *not on the brasen sea*, in which

the priests washed their own persons. The distinction here is remarkable, and strongly shows the superior sacredness of the former. In the visions of Ezekiel the cherubim appear as the body-guard of the God and King of Israel, surrounding and supporting His throne; and in the remarkable apostrophe to the Prince of Tyre in the same prophet, where he is addressed as "the anointed cherub that covereth," though we are not informed what he "covereth," yet the word is the same as that applied to the action of the cherubim, covering or overshadowing the mercy-seat, and undoubtedly conveys the same idea.

In Egypt the sphinx couched before the pyramids, the sacred tombs of her early kings, and guarded the gates of her palace-temples. In India, Persia, and Assyria, the ordinary office of these magnificent forms was the same, and was thus perfectly in accordance with what we suppose to be the leading idea of the cherubim, that of guarding the sacred mysteries.

In the curious representations of compound forms on the embroidered robes of the king, some of which we have already noticed, perhaps the same idea may be discovered. They most ordinarily occur in contest with men, and the latter invariably are the victors. The men so depicted are always clad in the garb of priests, and are usually represented between two cherubic figures, forcing their way; or, as having overcome, and holding them up in triumph by the hind-feet. Perhaps this is intended to express the right of the priestly caste to enter into the most sacred places, and to explore those mysteries, which the

cherubim were supposed to guard. The curious hunting-scene, already noticed, in which are two lion-cherubs attacked by a vulture-headed priest, may perhaps signify the boldness of the monarch in exploring sylvan regions, and uninhabited recesses, which superstition had invested with a sort of awful sacredness; or his success in penetrating them in spite of the dangers by which they were defended. In Shalmaneser's naval expedition, depicted at Khor-sabad, the winged bull and the bull-cherub* accompany the fleet, where we may easily suppose the meaning to be the inviolability or invincibility assumed to belong to this armada.

At the same time these figures are occasionally depicted in circumstances which it is difficult to account for, even on this explanation. In the embroidery of a robe at Nimroud,† there is a winged bull, looking back, between two sphinxes, each of which raises one fore-paw on the bull's body. We might suppose this to express the cherubic guardians forbidding the entrance of some being symbolized by the winged bull. But behind one of them rears up an enraged lion, and strikes the sphinx with his open paw, the meaning of which we cannot pretend to understand. Priestly attributes seem, sometimes, assigned to the compound beings. The sacred horned cap is usually worn by the lion- and bull-

* Many of the allusions to the Cherubim imply the prominence of the bovine form, so that some authors have called the Cherub of the Hebrews, a winged bull. (Wait's *Oriental Antiquities*, 161). The ox is called Cherub הכרוב in Ezek. x. 14; and the root of the word in Syriac means in its primary sense, *to plough*.

† Layard, *Mon. of Nin.* pl. 8.

cherub; though in those found at Khorsabad this head-dress is replaced by a square or cylindrical mitre, terminating in a circle of upright feathers; it carries the usual encircling horns, and is studded with rosettes. Generally the human-headed cherubs are beasts from the neck downward, but they are sometimes figured with human arms, carrying a lamb or kid, exactly in the manner of the priests. Sometimes they are vulture-headed, like the hieracosphinx of Egypt; two of these in one place are attacking an ibex; in another, one is apparently killing or about to devour a prostrate ibex; in another, two vulture-sphinxes, with girded loins, attack a gazelle; one of them has seized the victim on the flanks with both fore-paws, just as a lion might do. These circumstances appear to connect themselves with sacrifice. But still more remarkable are two figures embroidered on a robe at Nimroud.* Two bearded priests are seen wearing the one-horned cap; they are human to the waist, with bestial hind-parts, and a short curved dog's-tail, but the legs become those of a bird, and terminate in eagles' feet: they have the usual two pairs of priestly wings, stand erect in a human attitude, *present the fir-cone in the right hand, and hold the basket in the left.* The winged bull and the winged horse are occasionally figured in pairs, with the sacred tree between them, either kneeling or rearing towards it.

From the manner in which winged bulls and sphinxes are made to interchange with lions, antelopes, and other wild animals on the embroideries,

* Layard's Mon. of Nin. pl. 44.



SYMBOLIC FIGURE.

we have sometimes been inclined to think that the artist intended to represent real existences; and that popular ignorance supposed such compound forms actually to exist in the remote forests, just as the vulgar believe in the existence of mermaids, &c., now.

A form of religious worship, which has prevailed in Chaldea and Persia from very early times, and which is not yet extinct, is the adoration of fire. At first, light and darkness were considered as two independent, original, antagonist principles, the rulers of the universe; the former for good, the latter for evil. In the address of Jehovah by the prophet Isaiah to Cyrus, nearly a century and a half before

he was born, there is an express allusion to this false notion, the origin of light and darkness being attributed to the creative fiat of God.

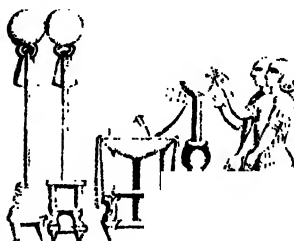
I am the LORD, and there is none else, there is no God beside me : I girded thee, though thou hast not known me : that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none beside me. I am the LORD, and there is none else. I form the light, and create darkness : I make peace, and create evil : I the LORD do all these things. Isa. xlv. 5—7.

The reformation of this ancient form of superstition by Zoroaster went so far as to recognise a supreme overruling Deity, who had created two subordinate but mighty beings, typified by light and darkness respectively. The essence of this religion may be summed up in the doctrine said to have been given by Ormuzd, the good spirit, to Zoroaster in vision. "Teach the nations," said he, "that my light is hidden under all that shines : wherever you turn your face towards the light, following my commands, Ahriman (the spirit of darkness) will immediately flee. There is nothing in the universe superior to light."*

* Fire-worship, associated with star-worship, must have been very widely spread in the early ages. The Vedas or Sacred Books of the Hindoos, written, according to the best archaeologists, in the sixteenth century, B. C. (or during the Israelites' sojourn in Egypt) distinctly recognise both. The Yajur Veda, for example, is mainly occupied with the sacrifice to the sun, or to its representative on earth, the consecrated fire.—See Colebrooke's *Essays*, i. *passim*, and Rammohun Roy on the Upanishad of the Yajur Veda, § 10, 11.

In the hymns of the Rig Veda, probably the oldest uninspired composition extant, the chief deity, Agni, comprises the element of *fire* under three aspects—the principle of heat and life on earth, lightning in the sky, and the sun in heaven. The Sun is acknowledged as a divinity, but

The adoration of the spirit of light soon degenerated into fire-worship, the idolatry of the Guebres or Parsees. The sun, as the most glorious luminary in the universe, was worshipped by prostration, at his rising, on the summits of mountains, and on the tops of lofty edifices. Fire, also, was an object of idolatrous homage, originally kindled from the sun's rays, and maintained from year to year, without being suffered to go out. Traces of this worship are seen in the later Assyrian monuments, as in the ac-



FIRE-WORSHIP.

companying scene found at Khorsabad. A slender altar is surmounted with a cone, which, being painted red, is supposed to represent flame. Before it stand two eunuchs, side by side, with their right hands elevated; one of them carries in his hand the sacred basket. On the opposite side of the altar is a table,

does not hold that prominent place in the Vedic liturgy, which he seems to have held in that of the ancient Persians, being chiefly venerated as the celestial representative of Fire. We find, however, no traces of the worship of the constellations or of the planets, so characteristic of the Chaldee Zoroastrianism, except an occasional somewhat enigmatic allusion to the moon.—Wilson's *Rig Veda* (Introd.).

covered with a table-cloth, on which is laid a bundle, probably of fragrant wood, to feed the sacred flame.* The service is represented as within a fortified castle or intrenched camp.†

On the Assyrian and Babylonian cylinders altars of similar form are common, surmounted, like this, with the conical pyre (see Cullim. 19, 21, 22, 23, 89, 114); and others are seen analogous in form, but topped with figures of the sun's disk, and of stars, instead of the fire-cone (Ib. 113, 116).

Mr. Layard gives an engraving of another representation of fire-worship from Kouyunjik. Two eunuchs are again seen worshipping before the sacred fire on a slender altar, while behind them a man leads a goat to the sacrifice. In this, as well as in the Khorsabad scene, there is a table behind the altar, on which are placed objects, that look like bowls containing some fruit. Behind the table are two poles, from which two serpents are suspended by the neck, which carry on their heads an appendage closely like the conventional ostrich-feather, so generally worn by the idols of Egypt. This scene, also, takes place within a fortified camp. A chariot

*—————A fire on all the hearth
Blaz'd aprightly, and, afar diffused, the scent
Of smooth-split cedar, and of cypress-wood
Odorous, burning, cheer'd the happy isle.

† *Odys.* v. 68.

The sacred fire of the Brahmins, mentioned in the preceding note must be maintained with bundles of palās-wood (*Butea frondosa*), each containing twenty-one pieces, a cubit long.—See Stevenson's *Sāma Veda*, (Lond 1842) Pref. and p. 204.

† See post, pp. 330, 307.

without horses, a camel, and men and eunuchs walking in procession, are also seen within the inclosure, but seem unconnected with the religious service.

Primeval astronomy had placed the serpent in the skies, and saw it with awe in the milky way, winding its colossal length across the arch of heaven; hence the close connexion of serpent-worship with star-worship.* Job seems to glance at both, when he declares of Jehovah,—

By his Spirit he hath garnished the heavens; his hand hath formed the crooked serpent. Job. xxvi. 13.

The ceremonies of the fire-worship were regulated by a powerful sacerdotal class, called Magi. That they possessed high authority in Babylon we gather from Jer. xxxix. 3, 13, where “the chief magus” (for so *Rab-mag* should undoubtedly be rendered) is enumerated among the princes of the king.

* “The worship of fire, and that of the serpent, were almost invariably united, especially in ancient times; and the more ancient, the more intimately are they blended, till they seem to meet in some primitive symbol, or misunderstood tradition.”—*Fulness of Time*, p. 435.

THE COURT.

The king of Assyria, and all his glory. Isa. viii. 7.

Are not my princes altogether kings? Isa. x. 12.

“ACCORDING to the theological and cosmological ideas of the age,” observes M. Lajard, “the earth was the image of heaven, as the heaven is the image of the region of ideas; and the Assyrian empire must be so constituted as to reproduce the idea of the world. The king was the god of the inferior world, or the incarnation of God on the earth.* His thoughts or his ideas had given life to the great empire. The insignia of royalty were the same attribute that served to characterise the power and the functions of the gods who made the world. Their costume became the costume of the king. The sovereign was compelled to espouse his own sister, that so the queen of the empire might be at once sister and spouse of the king, as Mylitta, queen of the heavens and of the earth, was sister and spouse of Bel. The royal and fraternal (*adelphé*) pair, thus become the faithful image of the divinity, received, as of right, the adorations of their subjects. The court was arranged exactly like that where the deity was supposed to reside. The palace and the capital

* Thus the ancient Hindoo law:—“A king is a powerful divinity, who appears in a human shape.”—Institutes of Menu, vii. 8.

were constructed on the plan of the world, or of the heaven and earth; the territorial divisions of the empire copied those which had been assigned to the heaven. The civil and military organization was modelled on the distribution of parts, and the organization of the various departments, which the religious system had assigned to the agents or secondary gods, employed in ruling and governing the world by the goddess who had received from the supreme god the double mission of maintaining peace and harmony between the several parts of the universe, and of waging perpetual war against the evil genius, the common enemy of the gods, of heaven and of earth."*

The government of the Assyrian empire was, doubtless, like that which has prevailed in all ages in heathen oriental countries, an absolute despotism. The monarch, in the East, exercises the most uncontrolled authority over the property, the rank and the life of every individual in his dominions, from the highest to the lowest. His will is absolute law. The despotic decrees of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. ii. 5; iii. 6, 29), of Darius (vi. 7—9, 26), of Ahasuerus (Esth. iii. 8—10; vii. 9; ix. 14), show how entirely the lives of their subjects were in the hands of these autocrats; "whom they would they slew, and whom they would they kept alive; whom they would they set up, and whom they would they put down."†

* Lajard's *Worship of Venus*, p. 28.

† This perfect absolutism was not inconsistent with the existence of a council of "wise men, who knew law and judgment," (Esth. i. 13—22) whose advice the monarch was accustomed to seek, and often to follow.

(Dan. v. 19.) And we cannot doubt that the sway of the Assyrian monarchs was as irresponsible as that of their Babylonian and Persian successors. For though but little information concerning them has come down to us from extraneous sources, that little exhibits the Assyrian kings as haughty despots, consulting their own pleasure, and acknowledging no superior among men. The insulting message of Sennacherib to Hezekiah and his people, when he threatened Jerusalem, is an example of their unparalleled arrogance.

Beware lest Hezekiah persuade you, saying, The Lord will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and Arphad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim? and have they delivered Samaria out of my hand? Who are they among all the gods of these lands, that have delivered their land out of my hand, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of my hand? Isa. xxxvi. 18—20.

Thus shall ye speak to Hezekiah king of Judah, saying, Let not thy God, in whom thou trustest, deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria. Behold, thou hast heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all lands by destroying them utterly; and shalt thou be delivered? Have the gods of the nations delivered them which my fathers have destroyed, as Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of Eden which were in Telassar? Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arphad, and the king of the city of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah? Isa. xxxvii. 10—13.

According to the testimony of a Jewish writer, (Tobit i. 18), this monarch exercised his authority in

It would even seem that, on some occasions, such a council drew up statutes (Dan. vi. 7—9), to which they asked and obtained the king's sanction and signature. Still those statutes would have had no force without his will. It is observable that the proclamation of a public fast in Nineveh, on the preaching of Jonah, was "by the decree of the king and his nobles." Jon. iii. 7.

a tyrannical manner, "slaying many in his wrath," when he returned baffled to Nineveh.

The inscriptions read by Col. Rawlinson, commemorating the acts of the Assyrian kings, display, though in a less offensive style, the same egotism as the vaunts of Sennacherib; the aggrandisement of self pervades them all, everything is made subject to the will of the monarch, and all contributes to his glory; just as, in the self-complacent boast of Nebuchadnezzar, no place could be found for any one but himself.

The king spake, and said, Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty? Dan. iv. 30.

In the sculptured monuments everything is in accordance with this idea. The royal person, his pomp and magnificence, his religious ceremonies, his state levees, his wars, sieges, and triumphal returns, his prowess and success in hunting the savage beasts of the forest, the tribute poured at his feet by distant nations,—form the continual subjects of pictorial representation; and amidst all, he is the sun around which everything revolves, the divinity for whose pleasure everything is accomplished.

This arrogation of supreme power did not preclude the recognition of the gods, nor humble homage to them. For though he claimed to be himself, as it were, a divinity, it was only in this lower world; the whole of which, including himself, was subordinate to the supposed divinities that governed the celestial domain. He claimed, as M. Lajard observes in the passage at the head of this chapter, to represent, or

reflect, the great heavenly deity; but the implicit homage and obedience which he exacted on earth, he professed to pay to his liege lord above. Hence, in the historical inscriptions, we find combined in the same person the characters of "powerful and supreme ruler," and "humble worshipper of Assarac and Beltis;" and he who receives homage from the nations around, and bestows all the earth upon the people of his own kingdom, invokes the protection of the gods upon the empire of Assyria.* And that mighty conqueror, Sennacherib, who in his arrogance claims superiority not only over the nations, but over the gods whom *they* worshipped, is presently seen in the attitude of an humble worshipper "in the house of Nisroch (or Assarac?) his god." (2 Kings xix. 37.)

Thus too, as we have already intimated, we see in the sculptures the same monarch at one time moving down his enemies, or receiving the deferent homage of his courtiers, at another kneeling beside the sacred tree, and with uplifted hand offering up his petitions to the idolatrous symbol above, that represented in his judgment the God of heaven.

It does not appear that the Assyrian king exercised proper priestly functions. Priests attended him when worshipping, and ministered with the sacred symbols, the basket, the pine-cone, or the branch of fruit or flowers; or bore in their arms the animals devoted to the idol; but these implements and accessories of priestly service are never seen in the royal hands, nor is he ever depicted as adorned

* Rawlinson's Commentary, *passim*.

with what we suppose to be the insignia of the sacerdotal office, the eagle-wings, the horned-cap, or the vulture's head.

Yet the priests were evidently subordinate to the monarch; even in the act of worship they stood behind him, and presented their symbols towards the



A KING WORSHIPPING.

idol over his head or over his shoulder. And when he sat enthroned in royal state, priests formed part of the courtly throng that stood around, bearing indeed still the insignia of their office, and holding aloft their symbols with an air of authority that contrasted with the folded hands and humble attitude of the eunuchs and other officers of the household, yet mingling with them, alike ministering to the pomp of their royal master.

So, in the historical inscriptions, the monarch speaks of the public worship as entirely under his own direction, and of the priests to whom it was committed as being appointed by himself. "My servants erected altars (or tablets) in that land to my

gods;" "I raised altars to the great gods;" "I erected altars and founded temples to the great gods;" "I dedicated a temple to the god Rimmon;" "I performed the rites which belong to the worship of Assarac, the supreme god;" "I established the national worship throughout the land, making a great sacrifice in the capital city, in the temple, which had been there raised to the gods;" "I *appointed priests* to reside in that land to pay adoration to Assarac, the great and powerful god, and to preside over the national worship;" "I set up altars to the supreme gods, and *left priests* in the land to superintend the worship;"*—all these phrases prove how entirely the monarch was the head of the Assyrian worship, while yet his office did not interfere with that of the proper priesthood.

In the court of Persia, which probably had at first very much in common with those of Babylonia and Assyria, the person of the sovereign is and always has been held in almost religious veneration. Real or affected awe sits on the countenances, and is apparent in the motionless attitudes of those who surround him; and even his command to approach his person is obeyed with manifest dread and reluctance. "I intreat your majesty not to order me to advance nearer the presence; I am overpowered (literally, I burn, *mi-souzum*)," was the reply of a very young courtier, in fact a boy, when first introduced to the present monarch of Persia†, and desired to advance towards him. His majesty was delighted.†

* Rawlinson's Commentary, *passim*.

† Fraser's Persia, p. 395.

We know, both from sacred and profane history, that the most solemn precautions were adopted, to maintain in the popular mind a due sense of "that divinity that doth hedge a king;" his presence being of rare and difficult access, not only to guard against treacherous assaults and assassination, but in order that the people, accustomed to see their sovereign only on rare occasions, and never except invested with state and splendour,—might be led to regard him as a being of a superior order, not subject to the common wants and infirmities of humanity, and might therefore be more willing to submit to the exercise of despotic authority. The ancient Persian monarchs made it a capital crime for any one to enter into their presence unbidden, and Herodotus has recorded the fate of Istaphernes, a prince of the court of Darius, who, disregarding the prohibition, was put to death.* So stringent was this regulation, that not even the members of the royal family, not even the favourite wife, were excepted. Queen Esther well knew that "she put her life in her hand," when, on behalf of her people, she ventured to appear uncalled before King Ahasuerus.

Again Esther spake unto Hatseh, and gave him commandment unto Mordecai ; All the king's servants, and the people of the king's provinces, do know, that whosoever, whether man or woman, shall come unto the king into the inner court, who is not called, there is one law of his to put him to death, except such to whom the king shall hold out the golden sceptre, that he may live : but I have not been called to come in unto the king these thirty days. Esth. iv. 10, 11.

Some of the Bahdinan princes (the noblest and most sacred of the Koord families) are in the habit

* Herod. iii. 118.

of covering their heads with a veil whenever they ride out, that no profane eye may look upon their countenance.* This was the practice also, according to Benjamin of Tudela, with the caliphs of Bagdad.

It is probable that etiquette among the Assyrians did not quite proceed to such lengths as this. For Herodotus attributes the severity of these regulations to Deioeces the Median, who successfully revolted from the Assyrian dominion about a century before the overthrow of the empire. "He, for the first time, established the following rules: that no man should be admitted to the king's presence, but every one should consult him by means of messengers, and that none should be permitted to see him; and moreover that it should be accounted indecency for any to laugh or spit before him."†

But that some reserve of this kind was practised by the kings of Assyria at a much earlier period, a curious evidence has been brought to light. Since the publication of Mr. Layard's first works, he has made fresh and extensive excavations in parts of the mounds not before explored; and one result is said to have been the finding of the throne on which the monarch sat in his splendid palace. It is composed of metal and of ivory,—the metal being richly wrought and the ivory beautifully carved. The throne seems to have been *separated from the state apartments* by means of a *large curtain*,—the rings by which it was drawn and undrawn having been preserved. No human remains have

* Rich's Koordistan, i. 155.

† Herod. i. 99.

come to light, and everything indicates the destruction of the palace by fire. It is said that the throne has been partially fused by the heat.

The awe in which the person of the sovereign is and always has been held in Oriental courts is, doubtless, by a natural course of action and reaction, partly the cause and partly the result of the extraordinary majesty of countenance, which commonly marks an eastern monarch. The consciousness of real, uncontrolled power, must tend to produce a calm self-relying dignity, and this cannot fail to produce its effect on the beholders. It is not mere beauty of feature or grandeur of form, though these are elements in the result; and the aristocracy of the East display the very noblest examples of the human animal. The description which Sir Robert Ker Porter gives of the Persian king at the festival of Nurooz will exemplify our meaning.

"He entered the saloon from the left, and advanced to the front of it, with an air and step which belonged entirely to a sovereign. I never before had beheld anything like such perfect majesty; and he seated himself on his throne with the same indescribable, unaffected dignity. Had there been any assumption in his manner I could not have been so impressed. I should then have seen a man, though a king, theatrically acting his state: here I beheld a great sovereign, feeling himself as such, and *he looked the majesty he felt.*"

Every one who has looked at the sculptures which represent the Assyrian monarch sitting in royal state, or standing in the midst of his courtiers, them-

selves "altogether kings," "all of them princes to look to," must have been struck with the majesty of his countenance, and the unostentatious dignity of his action. This is most conspicuous in the kings of the earlier period, for in some of the portraits of Shalmaneser, while there is still the same grace and dignity, the countenance is less majestic.

We may trace the same facts in some of the allusions of Scripture.

Then said he unto Zebah and Zalmunna, What manner of men were they whom ye slew at Tabor? And they answered, As thou art, so were they; each one resembled the children of a king. Judg. viii. 18.

There be three things which go well, yea, four are comely in going: a lion, which is strongest among beasts, and turneth not away for any; a greyhound; an he goat also; and a king against whom there is no rising up. Prov. xxx. 29—31.

The "golden sceptre" mentioned in the passage above quoted from the Book of Esther, receives an interesting illustration from the sculptured monuments, both of Persia and Assyria. In the bas-reliefs of Persepolis, copied by Sir Robert Ker Porter, we see King Darius enthroned in the midst of his court, and walking abroad in equal state; in either case he carries in his right hand a slender rod or wand, about equal in length to his own height, ornamented with a small knob at the summit. In the Assyrian alabasters,* as well those found at Nimroud, as those

* Diodorus speaks of "the Sceptre and Royal Mantle of the kingdom" as peculiar insignia of Assyrian royalty (Book ii. § 15); and in Homer the former is repeatedly mentioned as a symbol of sovereignty, borne by each of the Achaian chiefs. That of Achilles was a straight sapling (Il. i. 285) studded with knobs of gold (302); that carried by Chryses, the priest of Apollo, is called "golden" (i. 16); and that of Agamemnon was

from Khorsabad, the "great king" is furnished with the same appendage of royalty, a slender rod, but destitute of any knob or ornament. On the Khorsabad reliefs the rod is painted red, *doubtless to represent gold*; proving that the "golden sceptre" was a simple wand of that precious metal, commonly held in the right hand, with one end resting on the ground, and that whether the king was sitting or walking; for in the Assyrian sculptures we see it in the hand of the king when sitting on his throne, and when conversing familiarly face to face with his chief minister.

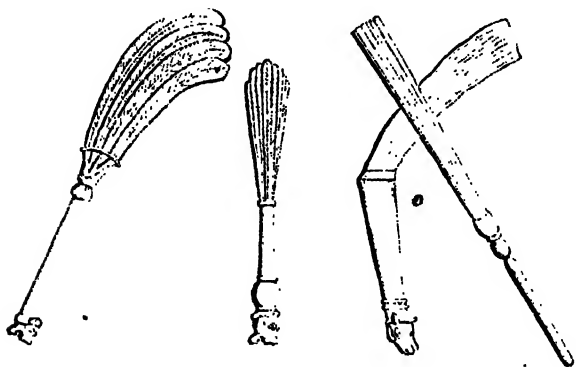
The golden sceptre has received little alteration or modification since that which it underwent in the added ornament at the summit, on its transmission from the Assyrian to the Persian court. Sir William Ouseley found it nearly the same as of old, not however carried by the monarch himself, but borne by special officers. "Some men," he observes, "whose office I neglected to inquire, held each in his hand a sceptre, or slender wand, nearly four feet long, and apparently of gold enamelled green, with a figure of a bird at top, as large as a real sparrow, and made of emeralds, rubies, and other jewels."

One of the Ninevite alabasters in the British Museum represents the monarch returning to his palace after the enjoyment of the chase, and gives us some insight into the etiquette of the court. Having reached the palace, the king alighted from his chariot,

probably of the same metal, since it was the work of Vulcan (ii. 118), and is described as "unobnoxious to decay" (ii. 35) and "everlasting" (207).

and was met by the high officers of the royal household. First came the Cup-bearer (the שֶׁקֶר of ancient, the *sharbet-gee* of modern times), who presented his master with the prepared beverage, probably weak and sweet wine, or a drink analogous to the *sherbet* of the present day, a sort of lemonade, flavoured with the juices of other fruits. How delicious such a draught is, those well know who have felt the sultriness of a tropical climate; and those will readily understand why, to one coming in from the arduous chase, parched with the heat and exercise, the cooling beverage should be *the first* requirement.

The cup-bearer having presented the cup to his lord, waved over his head the fly-whisk (the



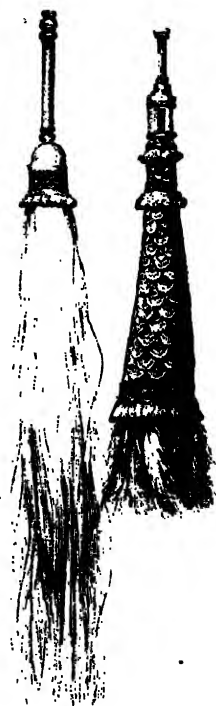
FLY-WHISKS.

μυιοσόβη of the Greeks), to disperse the flies which in hot climates quickly accumulate around sweetened

fluids and food of all kinds, or to answer the same purpose as a fan with us.*

This implement in its structure and use very closely resembled those that are used at this day in Oriental courts; and like them, had some varieties of form. The most common, consisted of a bundle of slender filaments, set in a handle, the extremity of which was frequently carved into the head of an animal. Others were made of delicate, flexible feathers, set in a similar handle.

While these pages are in preparation, interesting specimens of this implement are being exhibited in the Crystal Palace. The Indian Collection contains several *chowries*, as they are called, of the former construction, some made wholly of ivory, the filamentous part composed of thin narrow strips of that substance, others of sandal-wood, others of rose-wood; but the most common are formed of the wiry nervures of palm-leaves. Some of great beauty



INDIAN CHOWRIE AND
MOARCHAL.

* Euripides represents a Phrygian eunuch thus ministering to Helen :

I then was standing, in our Phrygian mode,
Was standing near, and with the feather'd fan
Rais'd the soft gales to breathe upon her cheeks,
In our Barbaric mode.

Potter's Orest. 1476.

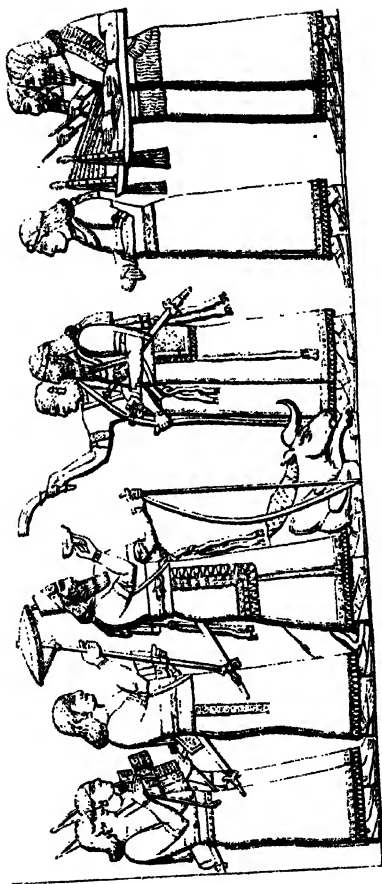
See also Terence, Eun. 595.

called *moarchals*, intended more for state than use, consist of a large handle of a funnel-like form, made of gold or silver filigree-work, in which are set the decomposed feathers of the bird of Paradise; perhaps represented by the left-hand figure in the above engraving of Assyrian specimens. Another form, of which no example occurs in the bas-reliefs, consists of the broad tail of the Yak or grunting Ox of Tibet, set in a handle of silver.*

When the king had satisfied his thirst, the cup-bearer presented to him the napkin, a cloth very narrow, but of great length, richly embroidered and fringed at each end, which he bore, exactly as the analogous *elmárhama* is borne in the present day, over the left shoulder, hanging down before and behind nearly to the ground. The functionary, it seems, having respectfully and gracefully delivered the cup to the monarch with his right hand, immediately transferred the fly-whisk from his left, in which he had hitherto carried it, to his right, and thus left the former hand free to take hold of the napkin with his fingers, and hold it out from his breast without removing it from his shoulder, that his royal master might wipe his mouth without intermitting the waving of the fly-whisk. The officer who held this important station was an eunuch.

Beside the cup-bearer stood a personage evidently of high consideration, who, from the frequency with which he is represented in courtly scenes, and the

* Captain Williamson enumerates other materials; as horse-hair plaited on to a piece of turned wood, ornamented; the roots of grass (*cus-cuss*), and split peacock's feathers.—*Oriental Field Sports*, 27.



KING MET BY HIS COURTIERS.

circumstances in which he is seen, has been supposed to be the Vizier, or chief adviser of the king, or what we should call his prime minister. The magnificence of his dress, second only to that of the sovereign himself, his carefully and elaborately arranged hair and beard, and the peculiar form of his diadem, indicate the high dignity of this functionary; yet he meekly stood, in presence of his master, with folded hands,* in that attitude of calm, passive reverence, which to this day declares in eastern courts how truly the highest personages of the empire are the slaves of the autocrat.† M. Botta considers this dignitary to have been the Chief Magus; undoubtedly such a personage held a place of high consideration in the Chaldean court, for, as we before observed, we find him mentioned under this title (*Rab-Mag*, *i.e.*, the Great Magus) among the chief princes of the King of Babylon, who were present at the burning of

* Valmeeki, surprised by an unexpected visit from Brahma, rose bowed, and stood with joined hands. (*Ramayana* i. § 2, see also § 15). Hence it appears that the same custom prevailed in Hindoostan, several centuries n. c.

† This has often been illustrated; we take an example from Mr. Fraser's "*History of Persia*." "The Shah is, in fact, the government, the nation. All are his servants, his slaves; to be raised into influence and favour at his pleasure, to be degraded and destroyed at his caprice without remonstrance or appeal. 'There,' said Futeh Ali, one day to the British Envoy, in conversing on the difference between a king in England and in Persia,—'There stand Solymán Khan Kujur, and several more of the first chiefs of the empire; I can cut off all their heads if I please. Can I not?' said he, addressing them. 'Assuredly, Kibbeh Allum! (Point of the World's adoration!) if it is your pleasure.'—'Now, that is real power,' said his majesty, turning to the Envoy."

The pusillanimity of Harpagus, under the diabolical tyranny of Aëtyages, (*Herod.* i. 119) will recur to the reader.

Jerusalem (Jer. xxxix. 3, 13). The absence, however, of all religious or sacerdotal emblems, to distinguish this functionary, we think precludes the notion of his having held a religious office; while the precedence he appears to have always taken in the royal presence, and the habit, intimated by the sculptures, of frequent and familiar converse with the monarch, appear to point at the office we have indicated above. We should rather incline to identify the vulture-headed priest with the Rab-Mag.*

Below the vizier and the cup-bearer in rank, but following close behind them, came another eunuch dressed in a long plain robe, slightly bordered and fringed, (compared with those of the officers of whom we have spoken,) wearing around his head a fillet of different form, inferior in splendour to that of the vizier, yet ornamented in front with a large button, which was probably a gem. He wore no arms; and in all probability held the responsible station of chief of the household, analogous to the modern Kiskar Aga, in the Ottoman Court, who superintends the *harém-lik*, or seraglio of the royal palace. He received his

* "The Soothsayer [Magus] was a public officer, a member, if not the president, of the privy council, in the Medo-Persian Court, demanded alike for show, in order to influence the people, and for use, in order to guide the state. Hence the person of the monarch was surrounded by priests, who, in different ranks, and with different offices, conspired to sustain the throne, uphold the established religion, and conciliate or enforce the obedience of the subject. The fitness of the Magi for, and their usefulness to, an Oriental court were not a little enhanced by the pomp of their dress, the splendour of their ceremonial, and the number and gradation of the sacred associates." — Dr. Beard in Cycl. Bibl. Lit. ii. 287.

returning lord, also, with folded hands, the palms crossed the one upon the other, in front of the breast.

After this officer came the minstrels, whose duty it was to welcome their master's return with the psaltery and harp, and probably to sing to the music of their instruments the praises of his valour, his majesty, or his clemency, in measures of their own composing. Two of these only are represented in the bas-relief, but possibly, as Mr. Bonomi has suggested, these may conventionally represent a whole band. They were dressed in long robes, wore their hair and beards copious and elaborately dressed, and carried ten-stringed harps suspended in front of their breasts by a belt around the neck. These harps were of singular structure; apparently a narrow concave sounding-board formed the base, from the front of which rose at right angles a pillar terminating in an open human hand.* The strings passed from the pillar to the sounding-board across the angle, and were tightened by pegs inserted at regular distances along the former; they were thus graduated in length. Yet as no support appears to have existed between the top of the pillar and the other end of the board, it is difficult to imagine how the instrument could be put into tune, for the tightening of the strings must soon have strained the pillar out of its socket, or broken it. It is remarkable that the

* An open human hand is still not infrequently used as an ornament in the East. At the ceremonies for the commemoration of the death of Hossein, M. Morier mentions, among the gorgeously adorned paraphernalia, two poles hung with beautiful shawls, and each terminating in an expanded hand--the hand of Mohammed--studded with jewellery.—*Second Journey*, p. 181.

same apparent defect existed in the harps of Ancient Egypt.* Threads, perhaps of silk, hung down from the pegs to a considerable distance, and these terminated evenly in a bunch of tassels. These harps were carried under the left arm, the fingers of which hand were used to stop or twang the chords, which were struck with a plectrum carried in the right hand.

The custom of maintaining musicians in the king's court is repeatedly alluded to in Scripture. The employment of David to "play with his hand" in the palace of Saul, was indeed a requirement of that monarch's personal malady rather than of royal pomp. But in the retinue of the gorgeous Solomon we find them taking their place as regular retainers.

I gathered me also silver and gold, and the peculiar treasure of kings and of the provinces: I gat me men singers and women singers, and the delights of the sons of men, as musical instruments, and that of all sorts. Eccles. ii. 8.

That music ordinarily formed a part of the routine of the Persian court,† is implied in what we are told

* "All the Egyptian harps," observes Sir Gardner Wilkinson, "have a peculiarity, for which it is not easy to account,—the absence of a pole, and consequently of a support to the bar or upper limb, in which the pegs were fixed; and it is difficult to conceive how, without it, the chords could have been properly tightened, or the bar sufficiently strong to resist the effects of their tension, particularly in those of a triangular form."—*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 233.

Lyres are at this day used in India, which are of this construction, but in these the pillar leans away from the perpendicular in a direction opposite to the strain of the chords. If the whole harp was of metal, as those of Solomon's temple were, and cast in one piece, it probably would resist the tension sufficiently to be tuned.

† "The king [of Persia] finally retires, for the night, into the interior

of Darius, on the occasion of Daniel's being cast to the lions,—

Then the king went to his palace, and passed the night fasting: neither were instruments of musick brought before him: and his sleep went from him. Dan. vi. 18.

The Laws of Menu show the custom to have been of much earlier date, for, in prescribing the routine of a king's duties, they recommend him to recreate himself by hearing music after supper, as the last thing before retiring to repose.*

The minstrel that played at Elisha's command, when the three confederate kings sought the oracle of the Lord from his mouth (2 Kings iii. 15), was probably one of those attendant on the warring King of Israel. And, what is more to our purpose for present illustration, we find an extensive and varied orchestra employed by Nebuchadnezzar to celebrate the elevation of his colossal idol of gold in the plains of Dura.

Then an herald cried aloud, To you it is commanded, O people, nations, and languages, that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, ye fall down

of the harem. How he employs what remains of the evening is not, with certainty, known; but it was understood that Futteh Ali Shah—whose long reign makes him, though dead, the representative of royal habits to this age—was fond of being read to. . . . It appears that he was also partial to vocal and instrumental music, like Solomon, Eccles. ii. 8; that he took pleasure in the conversation and society of such of the ladies of the harem as had agreeable voices, and could amuse with stories and tales; and that he was particularly gratified in hearing such of them as were adepts deliver the heroic, the lyrical, or the amatory poetry of Persia in recitative."—Dr. Kitto, *Court of Persia*, p. 103.

* Menu, vii. 225.

and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up.
Dan. iii. 4, 5.

The word translated "sackbut" in this passage is סַבְכָּה (*sab-b'cha*), whence was doubtless derived the Greek *σαμβύκη*. The classic writers describe this stringed instrument as of great antiquity, and seem to ascribe its invention to the Syrians, by which they probably meant the Western Asiatics generally. By Porphyry and Suidas it is mentioned as a triangular instrument, furnished with chords unequal in length and strength; Musonius informs us that it rendered a sharp sound, and we learn that it was much employed to accompany the voice in singing iambic verses. From these notes we may not improbably conjecture the "sackbut" of the Babylonian despot to have been actually identical with the instrument seen in the hands of the Assyrian minstrels of the bas-reliefs.

We have repeated notices in the Psalms of a "ten-stringed instrument" (Ps. xxxiii. 2; xcii. 4; cxliv. 9), where its name *asor*, עֲשׂוֹר, distinguishing it from the *nebel*, נֶבֶל (the psaltery or lyre), with which it is associated, doubtless alludes to the number of its chords. It is not impossible that this may have been the same instrument as the *sab-b'cha* of the Chaldeans.

Ancient tradition ascribes to this Jewish harp the form of the Greek letter Δ, that is, triangular; and if, as the nature of things seems to require, there was a slender rod of metal passing from the top of the pillar to the end of the base, such would be the form of the instruments borne in the bas-reliefs. The

slenderness of such a rod might cause it to be confounded, in the sculptor's treatment, with one of the chords. Josephus asserts that the psalteries and harps (*Nablae* and *Cingræ*) of Solomon's temple were made of electrum, a very precious alloy of gold, of a beautiful pale yellow colour.

These are all the officers and attendants that are represented in the bas-relief as welcoming the king back to his palace. There are, indeed, other personages represented, but they accompany the monarch, and return with him. These are the armour-bearers, the *silikdars* of modern times,* whose office and appearance we shall have another occasion of considering in detail.

Sometimes the monarch sat in royal pomp on his throne of state, surrounded by his courtiers. The throne was an elegant stool without any back, the corners forming projecting rams' heads,† the feet and bars elaborately carved; the bottom apparently formed of cane split and interwoven, much as in our light chairs. From a sort of fringe represented under the bottom, resembling the conventional form given to the hair or wool of animals, we incline to think that a covering or cushion of fur was spread upon the seat of the throne. The royal feet rested on a massive footstool, which had an elevated rim, and of which the feet were carved into lions' paws. This form of throne seems to have been connected with some religious ceremonies; for when the king

* The office, however, is now abolished in the Turkish Court.

† A ram's head in copper, which may have ornamented such a stool as this, was found by Mr. Layard in the N. W. palace.

sat on it he was clothed in a robe most richly embroidered with sacrificial and other religious scenes and emblems, and a priest was present in full sacerdotal costume, carrying the basket and elevating the pine-cone. At such a time the chief cup-bearer stood before his master, and presented to him a shallow bowl, which the king then held up in front of his face, higher than the level of his mouth, fixing his eyes upon the ministering priest. The cup-bearer meanwhile waved the fly-whisk over the bowl, and held in his left hand a sort of saucer or cup-stand, with a long bent handle terminating in a ram's head, to receive the bowl from the king when he should have done with it.

Behind the monarch, as usual, stood the Silikdar, like the cup-bearer, an eunuch; he carried the royal arms, the bow, quiver, and sword; and with one hand fanned the king with a fly-whisk, corresponding to that of his fellow servant.

In the modern Persian court, according to Sir H. Jones, "On state occasions, such as the audience of ambassadors, the shield, the mace, and the sword, are borne beside the takht or throne, on which the Shah sits, by three of the handsomest Georgian gholams, whose dresses on this occasion glitter with gold and precious stones."

The form of the stool-throne was much like that of one still preserved with great care by the Persian monarch, and used only on the greatest occasions; perhaps itself a relic,—like St. Edward's chair on which our English sovereigns are crowned,—of very remote antiquity. Sir John Chardin saw it used at

the coronation of Shah Soleiman III. in 1666, and thus describes it :—

“It was a little square cushion-stool, three feet in height; the feet of the pillars that supported the corners being fashioned like so many great apples; and to secure the seat, there ran as many cross-bars both above and below. The upper part was smooth and plain, without anything that might make the seat softer, being all the same materials with the rest, that is, massive gold very thick; the four pillars also and the feet being plated with gold, and set with little rubies and some emeralds. This same stool at other times is kept very charily in the Treasury Royal, which is a dungeon in the fortress of Ispahan, and so weighty that two men can hardly carry it.”*

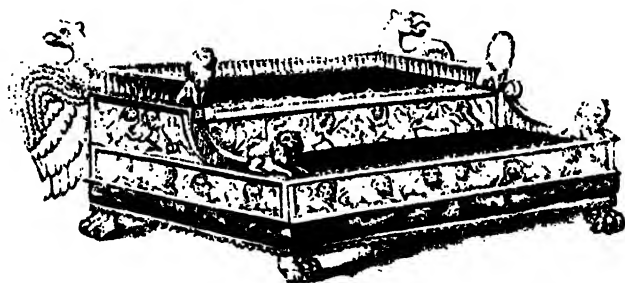
At other times the king sat on a throne of another form. It was a high elbow-chair or *fauteuil*, with a tall straight back, closely resembling those we see in old-fashioned mansions. Over the top was always thrown a cloth with an embroidered border,† which hung low down the back. A footstool supported his feet, which frequently had a high rim curving inwards, the use of which it is difficult to imagine, if it was really constructed as represented. But the rim was in all probability at the two sides, and only by the

* “Coronation of Soleiman III.” 39 (Lond. 1686.)

† See Homer :—

Then leading her toward a footstool'd throne
Magnificent, which first he overspread
With linen, there he seated her apart
From that rude throng, and for himself disposed
A throne of various colours at her side.—*Odys.* i. 160.

artist's ignorance of perspective placed at the back and front; that is, he has drawn it as if in transverse section. In the gorgeous Indian Tent in the Great Exhibition there^e is, in front of the carved ivory throne, a footstool of the same material, of two steps. The upper part on which the feet rested is margined on the back and the two sides, *but not in front*, by a rim or wall of considerable height. It thus affords an interesting illustration of these Assyrian footstools.



INDIAN FOOTSTOOL.

When the sovereign occupied this throne he commonly held in his right hand the tall golden sceptre, the foot of which rested on the ground, while his left hand held a small fan of feathers, or a bunch of pomegranates, or was laid upon his knee. The vizier usually stood before his lord, face to face, to give him the aid of his counsel and experience; when speaking he seems to have lifted up his extended right hand, while the left rested on the hilt

of the sword that he wore horizontally in his girdle. At other times, etiquette prescribed the folding of the hands in the attitude already described.* The king, when speaking, raised the right hand, and laid the left on his sword-hilt in like manner, but is never seen with folded hands.

The Fly-flapper seems to have been indispensable, whenever the monarch was not in actual motion. The pertinacity of minute flies, and the torment they incessantly cause by their venomous punctures, in hot climates, is well known; when a person is in rapid motion, as on horseback or in a carriage, he can manage to evade their assaults tolerably well; but the instant he pauses, they throng around in humming swarms, and soon cover every exposed part of the person with their painful bites. It was, doubtless, as a protection against these formidable though tiny foes, that the fly-whisk was in such constant requisition. Very frequently two attendant eunuchs exercised this useful implement at once; they are sometimes represented as one before and one behind the king, and sometimes as both behind, and standing side by side, but we may be permitted

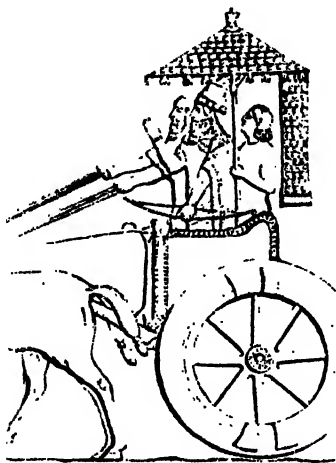
* In modern Persia "the prime-minister stands separate from the rest and nearest to the king. The persons expected to attend this court are the minister of state, the superior officers of the army and the court, and such governors and high officers of the provinces as happen to be in the metropolis. . . . No one sits—not even the heir-apparent—in the royal presence; all stand in a reverent posture. The only exception is made in favour of the two chief ecclesiastics, who, on the Friday attendance, are allowed to sit in the same room with the king, but only at a great distance from him. . . . The posture of respect is to stand motionless, with depressed eyelids, and hands laid over one another upon the breast, the right hand uppermost."—*Kitto's Court of Persia*, p. 91.

to suppose that their common place was one on each side of their lord. The fly-flappers usually carried a handkerchief or napkin (*σουδάριον*) over the shoulder or hanging on the left arm, sometimes held forward in the hand ready for the royal demand, which in such a climate, we may suppose, was pretty constant.

Almost equally indispensable beneath the torrid rays of the cloudless sun of Assyria, was the parasol; and accordingly we find such an implement carried by an eunuch over the head of the king, large and heavy, and requiring the support of both hands, but in general form closely resembling those used by ladies in modern times. Even when the monarch sat on his throne within his royal halls it was beneath the grateful shadow of the parasol; a circumstance which singularly favours the conjecture of Mr. Layard that the Assyrian palaces were, at least in their central portions, roofless, and open to the sky.

When the king travelled he was always attended by a Parasol-bearer in his chariot. In this case the instrument was generally of larger size, and sometimes the staff appears to have rested in a socket in the floor of the car, being held steady by the attendant. Sometimes it was rounded in shape, sometimes conical; the summit was usually adorned with an ornament, and depending tassels occasionally fringed the margin, ribs converged from the expanded arch to a socket around the staff, which from its appearance we conjecture to have been capable of sliding up and down, for the purpose of expanding

or closing the parasol. In the latter period of Assyrian history, a long depending veil or strip of cloth descended from the hinder part of the margin, nearly to the feet, thus rendering the shadow more extensive.



CHARIOT-PARASOL.

In the Great Exhibition, while we write these pages, there are specimens of royal parasols from India, the very counterparts of those of the Assyrian sculptures. The staff is sometimes of wood, painted, gilt, and varnished; sometimes of bamboo; sometimes of silver. The expansion is generally of silk, often fringed and embroidered with gold or silver.

The parasol appears continually in the Persian sculptures, of the same form as that used by the Assyrians, from whom the custom probably passed to

their successors in empire. To the Egyptians it seems to have been unknown, at least in the oriental form.* It may be alluded to in the following passages from Holy Writ, though we have no reason to believe that it was used by the Hebrew kings.

Only rebel not ye against the LORD, neither fear ye the people of the land; for they are bread for us: their defence (*marq.* shadow) is departed from them, and the LORD is with us: fear them not. Numb. xiv. 9.

The LORD is thy shade upon thy right hand. The sun shall not smite thee by day. Ps. cxxi. 5, 6.

For thou hast been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress, a refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat, when the blast of the terrible ones is as a storm against the wall. Isa. xxx. 4.

The parasol at this day is one of the insignia of royalty in Persia. It is carried by an attendant behind the monarch's person, just as of old. None but the king or his sons are permitted to use it.

The Cup-bearer in the ancient oriental courts was always a person of rank and importance; and from the confidential nature of his employment, and the opportunity it gave him of access to the royal ear, he must have possessed great influence. Herodotus mentions a youth who was chosen to be cup-bearer to Cambyses, as "invested with no small honour;"† and Xenophon speaks of the cup-bearer of the court of Astyages, as the most highly favoured of all the officers of the household. We learn from this writer that one part of the duty of the office was to introduce to the sovereign those who sought an

* Sir G. Wilkinson has given a copy of a painting from Beni Hassan, in which a servant elevates a sort of shield over the head of a personage carried in a palanquin.

† Herod. iii. 34.

interview on business, and to deny access to those whose admission he thought improper or unseasonable.*

Nehemiah was cup-bearer at the same court in the time of Artaxerxes, and was appointed governor of the people of Israel, who had now returned from the Babylonish captivity. As he declined, for conscience sake, to take any of the lawful emoluments of his office from the people over whom he ruled, and yet maintained a princely state and hospitality for many years at his own expense, it is plain that his former station at the court of Shushan must have been exceedingly lucrative.

Moreover from the time that I was appointed to be their governor in the land of Judah, from the twentieth year even unto the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes the king, that is, twelve years, I and my brethren have not eaten the bread of the governor. But the former governors that had been before me were chargeable unto the people, and had taken of them bread and wine, beside forty shekels of silver; yea, even their servants bare rule over the people: but so did not I, because of the fear of God. Yea, also, I continued in the work of this wall, neither bought we any land: and all my servants were gathered thither unto the work. Moreover, there were at my table an hundred and fifty of the Jews and rulers, beside those that came unto us from among the heathen that are about us. Now that which was prepared for me daily was one ox and six choice sheep; also fowls were prepared for me, and once in ten days store of all sorts of wine: yet for all this required not I the bread of the governor, because the bondage was heavy upon this people. Neh. v. 14—18.

The high favour, trust, and confidence, in which Nehemiah was held at the Persian court, is shown, as Dr. Hales observes, by the committal of so arduous and important a task as the re-fortification of Jerusalem (Neh. ii. 8) to him, “whose services at

* Cyrop. i. 3.

court Artaxerxes reluctantly dispensed with, as appears from his appointing a set time for Nehemiah's return, and afterwards from his return again to Persia, in the thirty-second year of his reign."

The cup-bearers of King Solomon, and the magnificence of their apparel, are mentioned among the objects that especially attracted the admiration of the Queen of Sheba.

And when the queen of Sheba had seen the wisdom of Solomon, and the house that he had built, and the meat of his table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel; his cupbearers also, and their apparel; and his ascent by which he went up into the house of the Lord; there was no more spirit in her. 2 Chron. ix. 3, 4.

We may be sure that we see in the personage depicted on these monuments a faithful original portrait of the style, dress, and appearance, if not of the person, of that arrogant officer who spake such great swelling words in the name of his master Sennacherib, against the living God. (Isa. xxxvi.) For "Rabshakeh" is not a proper name, but an appellative, or rather a substantive with a qualifying adjective, and, literally rendered, signifies "the chief cup-bearer." His being an eunuch was, as we shall presently see, no objection to his fulfilling so belligerent a mission.

There is an observation in Xenophon which receives a curious illustration from the monuments of Assyria and Persia. He appears to have been struck with the polished courtly manner in which the cup-bearers of the Median monarch performed their duty of presenting the wine to their lord. Hav-

ing washed the cup in the king's presence, the wine was poured into it, and it was then handed to him, not grasped, but lightly resting on the tips of the fingers. Now it is natural to suppose that grace and elegance of manners were quite as much cultivated by the monarch himself, the standard and model of good-breeding, as by his courtiers, and that his reception of the cup would be marked by the same delicacy as their presentation of it. And this we see conspicuously* portrayed in these original studies from the life. The Assyrian monarch elevates the bowl on his right hand, supported only by the tips of his fingers and thumb, exactly as described by the Greek.*

The same grace marked all the actions of those about the court; it was evidently a scene of the most studied politeness. As it is a breach of oriental etiquette at this day to grasp with the hand anything presented to a superior, if it can possibly be carried otherwise, so it was in the ancient courts of Nineveh and Persepolis. Objects that could lie on the open palm of the hand were so carried, steadied by the other hand if there were but one article; if two, one supported by each extended palm. If the prehensile power of the fingers was needed, it was exercised with as little pressure or grasping as possible; the fingers remaining straight and the object held against them by the thumb. The golden

* In Sir C. Fellowses' *Lycia*, (p. 190) there is a wood-cut of a female of Modern Asia Minor, (ancient Megiste) carrying a bowl in exactly the same manner, which is represented also on the ancient sculptures of the same country.

sceptre was thus held by the king, at least in the early time when the Nimroud sculptures were executed; in those at Khorsabad the custom is less regarded.

The eunuch, whom we consider as representing the Kishar Aga, was doubtless the officer who, under the title of Rab-saris (רַב־סָרִיס, literally the chief eunuch), was associated with the Rab-shakeh or chief cup-bearer in delivering Sennacherib's insulting message to Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 17); and who is mentioned among the chief princes of Nebuchadnezzar, that were present at the capture and destruction of the city of Jerusalem (Jer. xxxix. 3, 13). In the book of Daniel the same personage is called by the analogous titles of Rab-sarisiv (רַב־סָרִיסִי, the chief of his, *i.e.* the king's eunuchs), and Sarha-sarisim (שַׂר־הַסָּרִיסִים, the prince of the eunuchs); his name was Ashpenaz, and the amiability and excellence of his character, we may infer from the "favour and tender love" with which he regarded the captive Daniel.

Eunuchs were very numerous in Assyria; many of the most important offices were held by them; they took, as we have seen, the most familiar and confidential stations around the person of the monarch; in the sacerdotal garb and insignia they appear to have taken part in the priestly service; they sustained the office of public scribes or recorders; and in war they were very numerous, associating with bearded men on terms of perfect equality, fighting side by side in battle, clad in similar armour, wielding the same weapons, and behaving with equal

courage. Herodotus tells us how highly eunuchs were valued among the Asiatics, on account of their superior fidelity; and that the Persians lost no opportunity of acquiring them, either by the mutilation of the youths taken captive in war, or by purchase, at large prices, from other nations.* And Xenophon has recorded Cyrus's high opinion of them at some length, adding that he made all those that officiated about his person, from his door-keepers upwards, to be eunuchs.† Their number and estimation have continued in the East to the present day. Tavernier asserts that in his time, the middle of the 17th century, 20,000 eunuchs were annually made in the kingdom of Bootan, to sell to other nations; the seraglios being kept by them throughout the countries professing Islam.

Eunuchs are very often referred to in Scripture in such a manner as to induce the supposition that they were common in the courts of both Israel and Judah.

And he [*i.e.* Saul] will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his *officers* and to his servants. 1 Sam. viii. 15.

Then the king of Israel called an *officer*, and said, Hasten hither Micaiah the son of Imlah. 1 Kings xxii. 9.

So the king appointed unto her a certain *officer*, saying, Restore all that was hers, and all the fruits of the field since the day that she left the land, even until now. 2 Kings viii. 6.

And he lifted up his face to the window, and said, Who is on my side? who? And there looked out to him two or three eunuchs. 2 Kings ix. 32.

And Jehoiachin the king of Judah went out to the king of Babylon,

* Herod. vi. 32; viii. 105.

† Cyrop. vii.

he, and his mother, and his servants, and his princes, and his *officers*; and the king of Babylon took him in the eighth year of his reign.

And he carried away Jehoiachin to Babylon, and the king's mother, and the king's wives, and his *officers*, and the mighty of the land: those carried he into captivity from Jerusalem to Babylon. 2 Kings xxiv. 12—15.

And out of the city he took an *officer* that was set over the men of war. 2 Kings xxv. 19.

And David assembled all the princes of Israel, the princes of the tribes, and the captains of the companies that ministered to the king by course, and the captains over the thousands, and captains over the hundreds, and the stewards over all the substance and possession of the king, and of his sons, with the *officers*, and with the mighty men, and with all the valiant men, unto Jerusalem. 1 Chron. xxviii. 1.

The princes of Judah, and the princes of Jerusalem, the eunuchs, and the priests, and all the people of the land, which passed between the parts of the calf; I will even give them into the hand of their enemies. Jer. xxxiv. 19, 20.

Neither let the eunuch say, Behold, I am a dry tree. For thus saith the Lord unto the eunuchs that keep my sabbaths, and choose the things that please me, and take hold of my covenant; even unto them will I give in mine house and within my walls a place and a name better than of sons and of daughters: I will give them an everlasting name, that shall not be cut off. Isa. lvi. 3—5.

In every one of the above passages where the word "*officers*" occurs, it is literally "*eunuchs*;" and they confirm the opinion that in the Israelitish nation, such persons held high posts of honour, not only civil but also military, as in the neighbouring countries. It is true that according to the Law of Moses, an eunuch could not come into the congregation of the Lord; but there was no prohibition against the purchase of them from heathen nations, or against their employment in Israel. Indeed, the last of the above-quoted passages showed that Je-

hovah recognised their presence without displeasure.

Potiphar, an Egyptian officer of high standing, is described as a saris or eunuch; yet we know that he had a wife. Hence it has been supposed, though, we think, on a very slender foundation, that the term was sometimes employed indefinitely for any officer of trust.

The existence of this class of persons among the Hindoos is recognised in Sanscrit works of a very remote antiquity.*

A series of bas-reliefs, discovered in one of the halls at Khorsabad, and engraved in M. Botta's great work (Pls. 14 to 23), affords us some interesting light on the etiquette, manners, and furniture of the Assyrian court. We conjecture that the artist intended to represent the preparations made for the monarch about to set out on a journey: or else the change of the royal residence from one palace to another, and the conveyance of the furniture needful for his convenience or pleasure.

The scene commences with king Shalmaneser and his prime minister engaged in conference. The monarch stands with the golden sceptre in his right hand, his left resting on his sword-hilt. The vizier stands before him in a similar attitude, but apparently speaking, his right hand being open and elevated. It is observable that in consonance with the principle already mentioned, both the king and his servant so lay their hands on their swords, as to touch

* See the Rig Veda (Wilson) pp. 87, 91; and the Institutes of Menu (iv. 205, 211; xi. 134).

them with only the tips of the bent fingers and thumb.



FLY-FLAPPER AND ARMOUR-BEARER.

Behind the king the fly-flapper, an eunuch, wields his implement over his royal master's head, and carries in his left hand the long narrow handkerchief. He is followed by the armour-bearer, another eunuch, carrying in one hand a mace, hereafter to be described, the other hand elevated, but closed. At his back hangs the bow, strung and ready for use, and a broad belt passes obliquely round his body from the breast to the loins, suspended by straps that pass through rings in the belt, and over the shoulders; to this is attached, in a manner not very easily understood, the quiver. This personage terminates the line in that direction.

Behind the vizier stand three eunuchs with folded hands, two of whom carry swords passing horizontally through the girdle on the left side; the third, perhaps

of inferior station, or confined to peaceful occupations, is unarmed.

Then follows an eunuch, wearing a sword, with a belt across his breast passing over the right shoulder, apparently formed of three rows of pearls, one on each edge, and the other in the middle of the ribbon; the central row varied by rosettes of pearls at regular intervals. It has a singularly beautiful appearance. This officer appears addressing the king; both his hands are open, the right held down before him, the left elevated behind, as if introducing his subordinates, or beckoning to them to advance.



ATTENDANTS WITH VASES AND CUPS.

Now come the various articles borne along in succession towards the monarch. An eunuch approaches the one last described, less richly adorned, wearing a sword in the girdle, but no ornamental belt; and his bracelets are plain rings of metal. He carries on each hand a hemispherical vase or bowl, which he

supports on his finger-tips and thumb, elevated before him.

He is followed by another of like aspect carrying two cans or cups of curious form. They are much deeper than wide, nearly cylindrical, but broader at the bottom and at the lip than in the middle; the bottom is fashioned into a lion's face, and the margin is furnished with an eye or ring at two opposite points, from which passes over a looped handle of twisted wire. The bearer elevates one of these, and holds the other down in front of him. M. Botta thinks that these vessels were really formed of the skin of a lion's head and neck, prepared as skin bottles are; and he thinks that the form, narrower in the middle than at either extremity, is that which a vase of flexible material would assume under the weight of the contained liquor. But surely he forgets that the weight of a vessel formed of a lion's head and neck, and filled with fluid, would be vastly too great to be carried by a man with one hand, elevated in the air before him: besides that the size of these bears about the same ratio to the bearer as one of our tankards. We see cups of exactly similar form, moreover, in the hands of persons seated at banquets in other bas-reliefs, where they are evidently used as drinking-cups.* We conjecture that they were formed of some precious metal, and that the fashioning of the bottom into the head of a lion was arbitrary and merely orna-

* The drinking-horn (*porrion*) used by the Greeks was a cup, the lower part of which was fashioned into the head of an animal, a boar, a dog, or a griffin. It had a small orifice at its extremity, that is, at the muzzle of

mental. The form is exceedingly elegant, and worthy of imitation by our own artists.

Then come two eunuchs similarly attired to their predecessors, bearing between them on their shoulders an object of a highly interesting character. It is evidently the king's pleasure chair, in which he was wont to take the air, or perhaps to move in solemn procession through the streets of his capital. The chariot, in which the monarch proceeded to battle, or to the scarcely less severe discipline of hunting savage beasts, had no seat, and was but little fitted for comfort or parade. In the car before us, however, he could sit at ease.

It consisted of a high-backed elbow-chair or *fau-tuil*, placed on a pair of low wheels, with a long draught-pole, proceeding horizontally for a portion of its length, then bent suddenly upwards, and terminating in a richly carved and caparisoned horse's head. It carried a cross-bar at the neck, the two ends of which were fashioned into the heads of gazelles. As there is no appearance of yokes or means by which harness could be fastened to the pole or cross-bar, we conjecture that the carriage was drawn by men, two on each side of the pole, the bar pressing against their breasts. The lowness of the wheels and the form of the pole, seem much more

the animal, which the drinker put into his mouth, and thus sucked the wine from the vessel, or allowed it to run in. See figures in Hope's "Costume of the Ancients," pl. 59.

The Persians (Cyp. viii.) prided themselves on the number and magnificence of their drinking cups; as did also the Asiatic Greeks. Athenæus (book xi.) has mentioned by name more than fifty different kinds or forms of cups.

suitable to such a mode of draught than to that by horses.

The chair itself was very curious. The back and seat were both high, the former straight, with a long



ROYAL PLEASURE CHAIR.

cloth hung over it; the elbow was smooth, rounded at the angle; the bar of which it was formed was supported by three carved figures of men, bearded in the Assyrian fashion, and wearing the sacred horned-cap. On the lateral bar which connected the legs of the chair, itself elaborately carved, stood the figure of a horse handsomely apparelled, with head and neck-furniture, in a bold walking attitude, his head projecting before the seat, and reaching a little higher than its level. The legs of the chair terminated in great reversed cones, truncate at the

extremities, and carved all over in imitation of the scales of a pine-cone. The use of the pine-cone to form the feet of chairs, thrones, and tables, was very general, and originally the resemblance was exact, but conventional treatment gradually deviated from the natural model, so that we could scarcely have determined, in the present case, what was the object imitated, if examples had not been abundant in which the form and the scaling were more correct.*

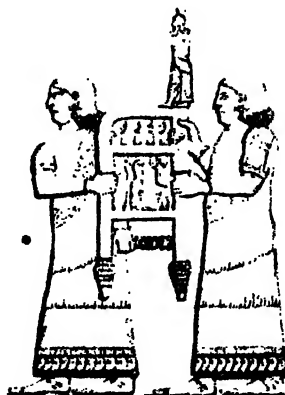
The general form and apparent use of this vehicle recall to mind the "chariot" (or *appirion* אַפִּירִיּוֹן, a word which occurs only this once) of King Solomon; which is supposed to have been a sort of moveable couch or palanquin, furnished with a canopy or "covering," which does not appear in the Assyrian representation.

King Solomon made himself a chariot of the wood of Lebanon. He made the pillars thereof of silver, the bottom thereof of gold, the covering of it of purple, the midst thereof being paved with love, for the daughters of Jerusalem. Cant. iii. 9, 10.

Two other eunuchs now appear, wearing swords (of which the former are destitute), bearing in a similar manner the massive throne or chair, which was intended to remain stationary. In its general contour it resembles the former, without the wheels and pole; the back, from the seat upward, is formed

* The pine-cone is a favourite ornament still in the East. In Burnes' Visit to the Court of Sind (p. 44) he describes the Ameers sitting on a *musnad* of white satin, embroidered with silk and gold, the corners of which were secured by *four massive and highly chased golden ornaments resembling pine-apples*.

by the figure of a man, with the right foot advanced, and wearing the sacred two-horned cap, crowned with a fleur-de-lis. The elbow is supported by four figures of men, similarly attired, but of small size, all looking the same way, whose heads touch the bar that forms the elbow. On the cross-bar connecting the legs of the chair stand two bearded figures wearing fillets or diadems around their brows, and facing each other. They support the seat, not with their heads, but with their open hands elevated above their heads. Below this there is a second cross-bar, elaborately carved, beneath which the feet terminate in great pine-cones reversed.



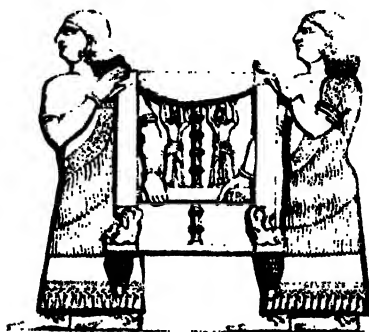
This is much more massive in its proportions than the wheeled chair, and may be supposed to have been the throne (or perhaps one of the thrones) on which the king sat in the palace, when he re-

ceived the homage of his courtiers and officers of state.*

Two other eunuchs succeed, carrying a sort of table of equally stout and heavy proportions. The top is flat, but convex on the inferior surface; whence M. Botta suggests that it may be a great basin, perhaps of marble; but, by a comparison of the scene engraved in page 117, where the same piece of furniture is represented as covered with a table-cloth, on which lies a bundle (probably of odoriferous wood, for burning on the altar beside it), it is evident that it was a table used in the ceremonial of fire-worship. It was used also as a dining-table in public banquets, and in private houses. The four legs are thick, square, unornamented, terminating in very large lions' paws, which again rest on a flat slab, supported by inverted pine-cones. A strong bar connects the two legs that are shown, above the lions' feet; and on this stand the figures of two men wearing the two-horned cap with a fleur-de-lis point, who support the table-body with their elevated hands, exactly as the two beneath the seat of the throne. An ornamented stem, fluted and surmounted at regular intervals with thickened rings of cone-scales, rises from the middle of the lower slab and supports the table-body in the centre. The servants carry this piece of furniture in a manner which

* In the principal reception-hall in the palace at Teheran, where the Shah appears on great public occasions, the front of which is open, looking out on a court, and adorned with five marble columns, stands a throne of marble, supported by human figures of the same material.—Kitto's "Court of Persia," 174.

indicates its great weight, grasping the bar in one hand, and supporting the top with the other.



Then come two grooms with the royal chariot, whose lightness is shown by the fact that they are able to bear it on their shoulders, without touching the ground with it, the one supporting it by the wheel, the other by the pole. At the fore-part of the pole there is a transverse bar with yokes for four horses abreast, two on each side of the pole. These men wear short tunics, with the legs bare; they are furnished with swords hung from breast-belts of pearls, exactly similar to that already described as worn by the introducing eunuch; these, however, are bearded men.

Another groom follows, leading the four horses abreast, richly caparisoned on the head, chest, and shoulders. A curious instance of conventionalism in art is furnished by this bas-relief, for whereas all the four horses' heads are distinctly shown, one in

advance of another, only one chest is represented, and only two sets of legs. This groom, like his predecessors that carry the chariot, is a bearded man; while all the other servants are eunuchs. There is a manifest propriety in this; the occupation of grooms, an out-door employment, being appropriate to men; the care of in-door furniture more suitable to eunuchs.



GROOMS WITH CHARIOT.¹

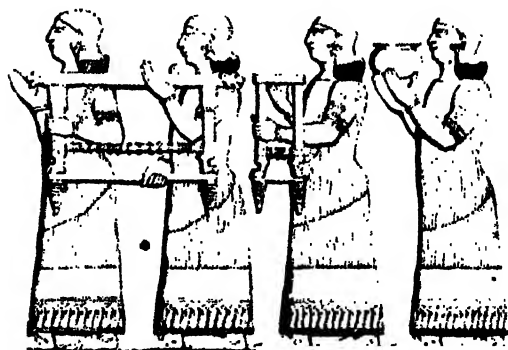
An eunuch then appears, bearing a single drinking cup of the lion's head form; and according to the etiquette before mentioned, holding it in the palm of his extended left hand, while he lightly steadies it with the fingers of his right.

This attendant is closely followed by two others, also eunuchs, carrying a massive *diphros* or double stool, as appears from its use in scenes appropriated to festivity. It is a simple slab resting on four legs, which are connected by an ornamentally carved bar,

and end in lions' feet: these rest on another slab, supported by inverted pine-cones at the corners. The angles of the upper slab or body of the table project in the form of lions' heads.

A stool, almost exactly similar, is borne after the preceding, differing from it by being very narrow in proportion to its height, as if viewed endwise. The corners do not project, nor are they carved into lions' heads.

Another eunuch, the last in the series, then appears, carrying on the tips of the fingers of both hands a single large globular vase, much resembling those in which gold-fishes are kept with us. Large



STOOLS AND BOWL.

vases of this form were set on tripod ring-stands; they were possibly washing-bowls, perhaps used for the rinsing of the royal cup in the presence of the king before the wine which he drank was poured into it, according to the custom at the court of ancient Persia.*

* Cypri. i. 3.

We have already observed that this procession probably represents the deportation of the royal baggage and furniture to accompany the monarch on some expedition. We know that the Asiatic kings never travelled without every convenience and accessory to luxury that they were accustomed to at home. Even their military expeditions were cheered (perhaps we might say, *encumbered*) by the presence of the harem. Xenophon assigns the reasons by which the barbarians were wont to defend the practice, but insinuates his own opinion that pleasure rather than reason was the true motive. "To this day all the inhabitants of Asia, in time of war, attend the service accompanied with what they value the most; and say that they fight the better when the things that are most dear to them are present. For they say that they must of necessity defend these with zeal and ardour. Perhaps indeed it is so; but perhaps they do it only to indulge their pleasure."[†]

FROM the monarch himself, his officers and attendants, his state and etiquette, we naturally turn to the house which he made his royal residence. And the Assyrian palaces are well worthy of our consideration, not only because of their intrinsic glory and magnificence, but because it is owing to the peculiarities of their construction and embellishment that we owe all our acquaintance with the manners of this interesting and ancient people.

• *Cyrop.* iv.

The general form, arrangement, and purposes of the apartments in which the monuments of ancient Assyria have been discovered, were at first involved in so much obscurity, as to be unintelligible. The labours, however, of Mr. Fergusson, who in his recent work "*The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored*," has brought to bear on the subject much learning, and a familiar acquaintance with ancient art, classic, Egyptian and Oriental,—seem to have thrown a flood of light on what was before so obscure. From his restorations, which though in some points only conjectural, are supported by arguments of great weight, and parallelisms of great value from Hindoo and Persian architecture, we are able to form a somewhat distinct idea of an Assyrian palace, and of the public and private life of the monarch who reigned in it. We can do little more, in these pages, than convey an outline of the results arrived at by Mr. Fergusson, referring our readers to his valuable work itself for the reasonings by which they are attained.

The great collection of buildings which constituted the royal dwelling-place was built on a flat platform of masonry, eight, ten, or even twenty yards in height above the surrounding plain. This platform or terrace was, in Assyria, owing to the deficiency of stone, built of sun-dried bricks, faced with broad slabs of alabaster;* in Persia, however, it was constructed of stone or marble. Its surface was not of

* Pliny's statement (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 6.) that *the first example of a brick wall, faced with slabs of marble, was in the palace of Mausolus, about B.C. 360*, is therefore erroneous.

equal elevation in all parts, but terraces of different levels sometimes were formed on the great superficies. Access to the platform from below was obtained by one or more flights of steps, which, judging from those of Persepolis (for no examples have as yet been exposed in the Assyrian mounds), led up from the plain, not by a direct advance, but laterally; sometimes by one, sometimes by two series of two flights each, the first flight receding from, the second approaching, a central point.

The object of this arrangement, as Mr. Fergusson explains, when speaking of the noble staircase leading to the Hall of Xerxes, on the platform of Persepolis, was twofold, and is easily understood on inspecting the ruins. The first was to admit of the front being adorned with sculpture; the second depended on the circumstance that immediately before the summit of the steps, upon the platform, was placed the throne-room, or hall of audience, in which the sovereign sat on state occasions, while the cohorts of his army, or the crowds of his subjects passed up and down the stairs before him in procession, all rendering their homage in turn, without changing the direction of their march.

The *propyleum*, or throne-room, was an isolated building of comparatively small size, containing a single apartment supported by four pillars. The front, and each of the two sides, were pierced with central door-ways of massive grandeur, each guarded by a pair of those colossal cherubic forms, which we have before described. In an inscription many times repeated on the piers of this edifice in front of

the Hall of Xerxes, the hall is called "duwarthim," which, as Colonel Rawlinson suggests, certainly means *door* or *gate*, and is found in nearly the same form in all the cognate languages. "Still," says Mr. Fergusson, "it is not a gateway or entrance in the manner we usually understand this word, but used more as a justice-hall or place of assembly at the entrance or gate of the palace. I have, for instance, no hesitation in identifying this building with the gate which plays so important a part in the story of Esther, under the reign of the very king who built this one,—the gate in which Mordecai sat when he overheard the conspirators, and in which Haman sat when he refused to bow to him, where Mordecai could not enter when clothed in sack-cloth, &c., the viziral seat of judgment, or that where one of the principal officers of the palace sat to transact business, hear causes, or receive homage."*

* So too in Homer:—

Gereonian Nestor issued forth, and sat
Before his palace gate, on the white stones
 Resplendent as with oil, on which of old
His father Neleus had been wont to sit
In council like a god ; but he had sought,
 By destiny dismiss'd long since, the shades.
 On those stones therefore, guardian of the Greeks,
 Sat Nestor now, *his sceptre in his hand,*
 And thither from their chambers also came,
 To encircle him around, *his num'rous sons.*

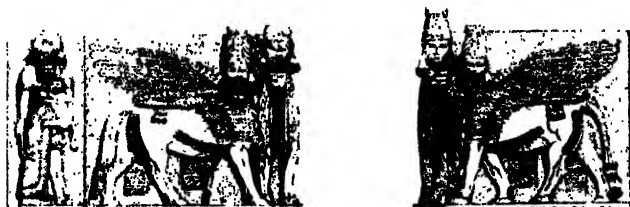
Odys., iii. 509.

The Kings of Persia, in modern times, pass a considerable portion of every day in an audience-hall, or judgment-room, which is open to the public, where they sit to decide in person those cases which by appeal or

Perhaps this will appear yet more clear by a reference to the following passage, in which "to sit in the gate of the king" expresses the highest office of a subject in the court of Babylon.

Then Daniel requested of the king, and he set Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, over the affairs of the province of Babylon; but Daniel sat in the gate of the king. Dan. ii. 49.

It is supposed that the throne of judgment was placed against that wall which had no door; that the front entrance, which faced the throne, was reserved for the king or vizier, who sat in state, while the crowd, who came to demand justice, or to pay their homage, passed before the centre of the hall before the judgment-seat, entering at one lateral doorway and going out at the opposite; and thus these became the principal portals, distinguished by the superior grandeur of their gigantic guardians, or by some other architectural peculiarities.



GATEWAY (*Khorsabad*).

The walls on each side of the grand gateways were adorned with magnificent sculptures. At Khorsabad the propyleum that stood almost on the

by consent are brought to the foot of the throne. The Greek historians tell us that such was the practice of their predecessors of old.

edge of the terrace, looking down upon the city below, M. Botta describes as having portals formed by two winged human-headed bulls of nineteen feet in height, crowned with three-horned mitres, and looking outwards. The wall on each side of the portal consisted of great slabs, on which were sculptured in bold relief two similar cherubic forms, rather less gigantic, standing back to back, between which stood a colossal human figure, strangling a lion in his arms.

Beyond the throne-room or "gate," other flights of stairs appear to have conducted the visitor to a higher level, on which the various erections which constituted the true palace were placed. These consisted of suites of apartments, appropriated to distinct purposes, surrounding quadrangular courts. Thus, if we take for an example the palace at Khorsabad, according to Mr. Fergusson's restoration, the eastern angle of the upper platform was occupied by a large quadrangular space, which he calls the Outer Court, about 350 feet long by 200 feet wide. Passing directly across this court, through its length, the visitor came to the palace wall, in which was a narrow gallery or passage, closed by a massive door; the door has disappeared, but the places for its hinges yet remain, and there is a recess in the passage wall to receive its ponderous lock, when it stood open, as it is supposed was usually the case; for the part of the wall behind the door was not sculptured. The portals of the gate were formed, as usual, of two winged human-headed bulls, and the outer surface of the wall on

each side was adorned with human figures. The sides of the passage were covered with a double row of strangers bringing tribute to Assyria, with scribes and attendants, accompanied by long inscriptions, recording the successful campaigns of king Shalmaneser, which are repeated at greater length on the walls of the apartment to which this passage is the entrance. The gallery was paved with large slabs of stone, and, as Mr. Fergusson believes, was covered with an arched roof.

Having passed through this covered passage, which was ten feet in width, and fifty in length, reckoned from the door, but eighty-five reckoned from the faces of the guardian bulls at each end—the stranger found himself in another quadrangle, the Palace Court,* bounded on the north-east and north-west

* The palaces of modern Persia all display the same kind of arrangement. Dr. Kitto, speaking of Teheran, which has been selected as a royal residence only within the present dynasty, observes:—

“The general plan of this, as of all other oriental palaces, and doubtless, of those of the ancient Persian and even of the Hebrew kings, is that of a succession of courts, separated from each other by high walls or ranges of building. The courts themselves are adorned with reservoirs or rectangular tanks of water, paved walks, bordered with plane-trees, and having flower-beds between.

“There are three halls of reception, the largest of which is thirty-five feet by twenty-five. It stands on a range between two courts, and on the sides looking out upon them is entirely open from the ceiling to the floor, the roof being supported on these sides by tall wooden columns, and the room protected by ample curtains hanging from the roof, and capable of being raised or lowered at pleasure.

“The building, taken on the whole, conveys no very exalted idea of Persian magnificence. The exterior is altogether destitute of any pretensions to architectural beauty. But the extent of ground covered by it

by the parapet-wall of the platform, which looked down on the plain without the city walls; and on the two opposite sides by the magnificently adorned walls of the palace itself, or the state-apartments of the king. He could not fail to be struck with the splendour of the scene presented here. The various doorways leading to the apartments were guarded as usual by the awful cherubic bulls facing outwards towards the court, while the pylons or great abutments, projecting between the doors, were sculptured with similar forms placed back to back, with their faces turned outwards, or with colossal figures of priests, human and vulture-headed, ministering before the sacred tree, or performing other mystic ceremonies. Above the range of slabs of alabaster sculptured in bas-relief, which extended to the height of ten feet from the floor, the walls were faced with kiln-burnt tiles painted or enamelled in elegant patterns. "Unfortunately no relics of this decoration remain *in situ*; nor do the fragments lie in

is very great, comprising, as the structure does, not only the royal residence, but quarters for the guards, and many extensive ranges of apartments."—"Court of Persia," p. 173.

The reader may compare Homer's description of the palace of the Trojan king:—

Faced with bright porticoes, that overarch'd
The fifty chambers, lined with polish'd stone,
And mutually adjourn'd; in which the sons
Of Priam with their wedded wives reposed;
And opposite were built within the court
Twelve other chambers lined with polish'd stone,
And mutually adjoin'd, in which reposed
Priam's chaste daughters with his sons-in-law.

Il. vi. 278.

any such connected groups as to enable us to ascertain how they were arranged, nor, indeed, even what the subjects were. We know, however, that human figures certainly formed part of them, and arrow-headed inscriptions, painted yellow on a pale blue ground; but generally they seem to represent architectural ornaments,—honeysuckles, scrolls, *guilloches*, and other such decorations, all, however, brilliantly coloured: which, added to the traces of painting found on the slabs, leave no doubt that the whole decorations of the walls were elaborated with colour as well as form; and though perhaps not always in the best taste, must have formed as brilliant a mural decoration as any that either ancient or modern times can afford an example of.”*

Above the height to which these painted tiles extended, which was three or four feet at least above the slabs, we have no certain knowledge of the structure or appearance of the edifice. On Mr. Fergusson's theory, the walls which formed the apartments, constructed of sun-dried bricks, and of amazing thickness, were carried up to about twice the height of the slabs, or twenty feet. “Above this the top of the wall [which was ten, fifteen, or even twenty feet thick] must either have been paved with kiln-burnt bricks or tiles, or, what is more probable, floored with wood, so as to protect the mud bricks [of which the solid wall was constructed] from the action of the weather. . . . On this platform two rows of dwarf pillars stood, one on the inner, one on the outer edge of the wall, rising to a height

* Palaces of Nineveh, &c. p. 267.

of twelve or fifteen feet, more or less. These pillars supported a flat terrace-roof over each wall, composed of mud, and plastered on the upper surface [and carried continuously over all the apartments]; but as no horizontal timber could carry such a roof over a space of thirty-three feet [the width of the principal room], I conceive that all the larger halls had two rows of pillars down their centres, and the smaller ones probably one row; the very narrow ones were almost certainly without pillars at all. The central hall, I conceive, must have had a roof higher than the rest, and trussed to a certain extent, so as to admit into it a sufficiency of light, which it could not receive through the rooms on either side of it."*

The idea of such a structure will perhaps be rendered more clear if the reader will suppose himself on the paved summit of the broad wall. The pillars support a flat roof, but the sides are quite open to the light and air; approaching one side, and leaning over a low parapet, he looks down into the apartment beneath, from which one or two rows of columns rise to the roof, which is continuous with, and of the same level as, that which shelters the corridor on which he stands. Across the apartment his eye rests on a similar corridor on the opposite side, which he may reach if he chooses, by walking half-way round, along the bounding parapet. Turning from this view, he crosses the corridor to its outer side, whence his eye looks down without interruption on the court beneath, or, if the wall be

* *Palaces of Nineveh, &c.* p. 271.

an external one, on the edge of the platform at the foot of the palace, and on to the plain beyond, with the broad Tigris winding like a band of silver through its verdant meadows.

It must be remembered that the platform was surrounded by a parapet wall of solid masonry, six or seven feet in height; "so that a person standing thereon, or on the floor of any of the rooms of the palace, was debarred a sight of the country, which would be singular, when we consider the pains that were taken, and the risk run to obtain a site for it outside the city, and looking over the fertile plains of the Tigris. The only plausible explanation of such an anomaly is, that the palace had an upper story, for such these galleries were, in extent, as nearly as may be, exactly the same as that of the ground-floor or area of the apartments. It was thus in fact a two-storied palace, though *the floors were not arranged as we build them*, one over the other, but in a manner far more consonant with the climate, and the state ceremonial to which they were to be devoted. The ground-floor thus arranged was composed of rooms of great height, perfectly lighted and perfectly ventilated, while from the immense thickness of their walls they must have been warm in winter and cool in summer; whereas the upper story had a series of inner apartments through which the fresh breeze always blew, and of outer ones, which must always have afforded a cool and shady side, . . . and, either for recreation during the day or sleeping at night, as men sleep in the East, must have formed a suite more suitable to the

climate than any to be found in any modern palace I am acquainted with."*

By this theory, Mr. Fergusson solves the hitherto difficult problem,—How was light admitted into these apartments, so as to exclude the rain, and the direct rays of the burning sun? In that climate the rays of the sun are very intense, and doubtless the arrangement suggested would admit quite sufficient light through the open galleries to illuminate the sculptures and paintings, and to render the inscriptions distinctly legible, while the direct rays of the sun could never reach the floor of the lower apartments, from the breadth of the galleries. "At the same time they admitted of its being tempered with the greatest possible facility; for curtains might be hung inside the outer range of pillars; indeed, they were almost certainly so disposed, so that the light inside might always be subdued to any desired extent. The same is true with regard to the rain; it could not, even in a heavy storm, beat in at

* Dr. Kitto's description of the dwellings of the higher classes in modern Persia is highly illustrative of this structure.

~ The houses are low, making up for the lack of height by the extent of the ground they cover. We scarcely know whether to describe them as of two stories or of one. They are both, or neither; or rather, partly one, and partly the other. A house consists of a range of rooms, with alternately high and low ceilings; and over the lower ones, which are usually the halls through which the others are entered, low upper rooms are built, whose roofs rise but little, if at all, above those of the high ones of the lower story. The windows completely fill the whole front of the rooms, except the spaces occupied by two pillars in large rooms; and they open from a few inches above the floor, to a height of five or six feet. A room thus thrown open is delightfully cool in summer, especially when shaded by the extensive canvas awnings used in Persia."—*People of Persia*, 16.

such an angle; and here again the curtains would afford a simple, and at the same time an ample protection if required.*

But these galleries were probably connected with the state ceremonial, affording a position from which the king could exhibit his person to the gaze of the thousands of his people assembled around his palace.

A passage in a modern Persian work, the "Dabistan," quoted from an ancient one no longer extant, throws light on the structure, and on the curious customs probably connected with it. After alluding to

* Some of the peculiarities of the ancient palaces of Assyria and Persia are still preserved in the edifices of the same regions. Mr. Rich describes the Hall of Audience at Sulimania as a *Talar*, that is, according to him, a superb room *open in front, and supported by pillars, at the top of a handsome flight of steps*. The palace itself is *built on an artificial mount of great antiquity*. ("Koordistan," i. 79, 80.) From the same authority we learn that the Hall of Audience at Sima, built by Khosroo Khan in 1773, as well as a more recent one built by his son, is a large room, wainscoted with *alabaster slabs* to about four feet in height, gilt and painted in an elegant manner. The walls above are panelled with *paintings of battles and portraits*, vile daubs indeed, but professing to represent various monarchs of Asia and Europe, from Alexander the Great to Bonaparte. The two sides have *two little galleries* or balconies, and the front is open, with pillars. (*Ibid.* i. 204.) These rooms appear to unite the characters of the proper palace-hall with those of the throne-room or hall of judgment of antiquity.

Dr. Kitto tells us that the custom in Persia is the same.

"About eleven o'clock, generally, the king proceeds to the *diran khonh*, which is a very large hall or room, open in front, elevated about four feet from the pavement, and inclosed by the walls of an oblong square court. This, no doubt, answers to the great ante-court in which was the hall or 'porch,' where Solomon's throne was set, and where he held his court, and administered justice, 2 Kings vii. 7—9."—Court of Persia, p. 10.

the worship of the seven planets under distinct symbols or images, in a city, which Mr. Fergusson supposes to be certainly Persepolis, the ancient writer says,—“On each day in the week, in the dress appropriated to each planet, the king exhibited himself from a lofty *tabsar*, or window, fronting the temple of the planet, whilst the people in due order and arrangement offered up their prayers. For example, on Sunday, or Yakshambah, he showed himself clad in a yellow kaba, or tunic of gold tissue, wearing a crown of the same metal set with rubies and diamonds, covered with many ornaments of gold,—from the *tabsar*, the circumference of which was embossed with similar stones. Under this window the several ranks of military were drawn out in due gradation, until the last line took post in the *kashudzar*, or ample area, in which were posted soldiers of the lowest order. When the king issued forth like the sun from the orient of the *tabsar*, all the people prostrated themselves in adoration, and the monarch devoted himself to the concerns of mankind. The *tabsar* is a place of observation in a lofty pavilion, which the princes of Hindostan call *Jahrokah*, or lattice window. On the other days the king appeared with similar brilliancy from the other *tabsars*. In like manner, on the great festivals, the king went in choice garments to the temples of the several images, and on his return seated himself in the *tabsar* facing the image of the planet, or having gone to the *Rozistan*, or *Dadistan*, devoted himself to the affairs of state. The *Rozistan* was a place which had no *tabsar*, where the king seated himself

on the throne, his ministers standing around in due gradation.

“The Dadistan was the hall of justice, where, when the king was seated, no one was prevented from having access to him; so that the king first came to the tabsar, then to the Rozistan, and lastly to the Dadistan.”*

Mr. Fergusson considers that the *tabsars* of this passage represented the galleries or upper story of the palace; that the Rozistan was the great central apartment of the edifice, where the monarch sat in the midst of his ministers and officers, as so often represented in the sculptures; and that the porch with its throne would be the Dadistan; or else that this last was the Rozistan, and the square hall with four pillars, at the top of the platform stairs, the Dadistan. Respecting the first of these, he says,—“These galleries would form the indispensable *tabsars* from which the king might show himself to his subjects, without coming into contact with the *profanum vulgus*. That, for instance, between the two outer entrances of the north-western hall would serve admirably for showing himself to people on the plain, or witnessing reviews or shows enacted there.† . . . The one towards the palace court would be the general audience hall of the palace,

* Dabistan (Ed. Par. 1842), p. 42.

† The modern kings of Persia review their troops, particularly the household regiments, from a balcony or gallery of the palace that overlooks the great square. “The troops are assembled at one end of the square, the king’s balcony being in the middle, in which, besides the king’s ministers, are, on such occasions, the commanding officers of the troops to be reviewed.”—Kitto’s Court of Persia, p. 95.

the one towards the temple, that from which he would assist at religious pomps or ceremonies. All these are indispensable, and if not provided for by this, must be by other means, for an Eastern monarch cannot walk on the same floor with his subjects; and the floors of the apartments themselves, being all on one level, would be an anomaly by no means to be got over except by providing an upper story of some sort.”*

The curious passage above quoted from the “Dabistan,” happily illustrates, as we venture to think, one or two allusions in the Song of Solomon; and these tend to confirm the hypothesis of Mr. Fergusson, though they seem not to have occurred to him.

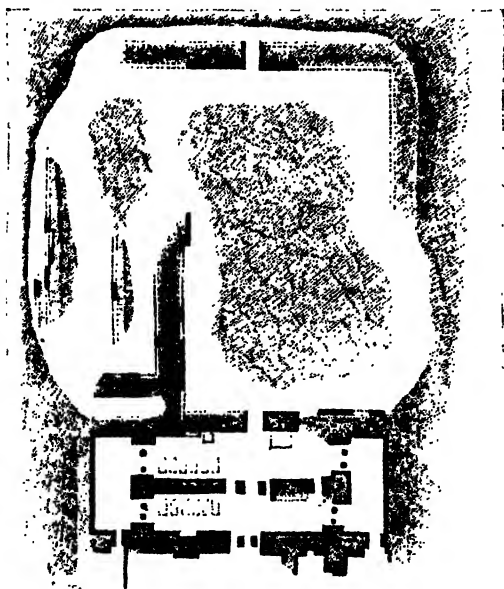
My beloved is like a roe or a young hart: behold, he standeth behind our wall, he looketh forth at the windows, shewing himself through the lattice. Cant. ii. 9.

Thine head upon thee is like Carmel, and the hair of thine head like purple; the king is held [*marg.* bound] in the galleries. Cant. vii. 5.

In the former of these the admiration of the speaker is excited by the magnificence and elegance of her royal spouse, standing behind the low parapet of the tabsar, and displaying himself (*marg.* flourishing) through the Jahroka, or lattice window. In the second, we may suppose the king to be in the tabsar of the hareem apartments, arrested, and, as it were, spell-bound, by the beauty of his bride, of whom he has caught sight as he looks down. Perhaps, indeed, from the expression, “our wall,” in the former passage, the allusion there also is to the

* Palaces of Nineveh, &c. p. 276.

tabzar of the hareem, or its court, rather than that which looked abroad upon the world; for though the seclusion of females among the Jews was not so absolute as among the more oriental nations, the bride of Solomon would scarcely have an opportunity of gazing on him when he showed himself to the thronging populace.



PLAN OF S. W. HALL (*Nimroud*).

In the most recent of all the Assyrian palaces that have been discovered, the south-west edifice at Nimroud, Mr. Layard exposed a hall of curious construction. It is of large size, being 165 feet long,

and 62 feet wide, but partially divided by a thick wall running lengthwise down the middle, yet not extending to either end, but terminating at some distance with lateral buttresses facing similar buttresses from the side walls. In each of the four narrow places between the projecting buttresses are found two pedestals or column-bases of stone. Mr. Layard hesitates to consider them as having supported columns, because of their singular and unaccountable position, but Mr. Fergusson has, we think, happily solved the enigma. The broad central wall supported a *tabsar*, or gallery of dwarf columns, as did the boundary wall of the apartment; and the connexion between the two was effected by four bridges carried over the narrow parts, and supported by the columns whose bases are still found *in situ*. An interesting illustration of such a structure, and of the curious custom with which it was connected, is found in the palace that Akbar, the illustrious Mogul emperor, built at Futtehpour Sicri, near Agra. "The throne was placed on an immense capital of a thick pillar,—if such terms are applicable to such objects,—from which four bridges of stone radiated to the four corners of the room, where his four ministers sat; and between them, in the lateral galleries, were arranged those officers of state whose rank entitled them to such a distinction, while the people were only admitted below, and their petitions handed up on the points of spears to those above."

To revert to the uncovered edifice at Khorsabad, of which we possess a more clear and connected

knowledge than of any other Assyrian building,—we find at the back of the suite of magnificent apartments that constituted emphatically the Palace, a quadrangular court nearly corresponding to that at the front, already described as the Palace Court. Mr. Fergusson denominates this the Temple Court; for at the side of the square opposite to the Palace, there is a platform raised six feet above the level of the rest, ascended by a single flight of square steps. On the top was placed an apartment forty feet long, and thirty-three feet wide, containing a large square block near the centre of the back wall, probably intended to support an altar. The whole of the edifice is so completely ruined, that but little remains to convey an idea of its purpose; a few fragments of sculpture only survive, but these display acts of religious service, and as well as the pavement of the temple, and even the platform itself, were formed of black stone; which makes it highly probable that this was a chapel dedicated to Assurac. Traces of other rooms exist on the temple-platform, which were perhaps vestries or apartments of the priests.

The rear of the temple was close to the edge of the general platform, and was perhaps approached from the plain by stairs at this part; but if it was a chapel devoted to the monarch's private worship, it was probably quite secluded. Returning, then, into its court, we find its south-eastern side formed by a range of small apartments, which may have been assigned to the priests or attendants. These, however, were interrupted by a grand portal, adorned

and guarded by a pair of bull-cherubs, which led through a long and broad passage into a fourth quadrangle, the Hareem Court; of smaller dimensions than either of the others, occupying nearly the centre of the platform. In each of the three sides of the court that remain, there is a portal formed as usual of winged bulls; and the buildings that surrounded this quadrangle were, in all probability, the apartments of the king's wives and concubines, so strictly guarded and so jealously secluded from public view in all Oriental courts.

No remains have been uncovered of the apartments themselves that surrounded this court. They were not state rooms, nor were they ever exposed to public gaze and admiration; and while we may suppose that they were decorated with painting, for the personal gratification of the sovereign and his ladies, no records of public events, no sculptured slabs intended to display the monarch's greatness to his contemporaries, or hand down the remembrance of it to his posterity would be placed in the privacy of the hareem. The rooms were probably built of mud bricks, and what they possessed of ornament was confined to perishable plaster and paint, or to textile fabrics, such as curtains and hangings, of more beautiful but still more perishable materials.

Leaving the Hareem Court by the portal in the north-east side, the passenger would presently find himself in the Outer Court, from whence he entered the palace, having thus completed a circular progress. The gateway through which he would

emerge was one of great magnificence ; the colossal bulls that guarded the portal, and those of the massive projecting pylons that bordered it on either side, being on the same grand scale and elaborate splendour as those of the propyleum or gate of justice before described, to which this gateway presented an almost exact counterpart. At the distance of nearly 40 feet from this same portal, but on the same façade, and situated between it and the palace wall, was another gateway of smaller size and inferior splendour, yet adorned with a pair of winged bulls, as were all the doors that opened into the courts from the interior. The whole of this wall, extending, probably, more than 300 feet in length, was covered, as was also that of the Palace, which formed another side of the court, joining this at right angles, with sculptured slabs of alabaster, representing the monarch performing the various parts of the pompous state-ceremonial of the age, attended by his eunuchs and dignitaries of office.

It is remarkable that the gateway which led out of the Hareem Court was not in a direct line with either of those which led into the Outer Court, but between them, and that unsymmetrically ; " so that any passage leading from either of these portals to the inner one must have formed an elbow, or at all events been so arranged *that it was impossible for persons in the outer court to see into the inner one* ; a circumstance in itself sufficient to confirm the idea that this was the hareem of the palace. For such," continues the learned author whom we are citing, " is exactly the ordinance of the hareems of all the

eastern palaces I am acquainted with. A highly decorated but gloomy exterior, with one splendid portal, marking to the outer world the residence of the monarch, but within which none are admitted but those whose business takes them there, or those who are equals of the king in birth or state, and who consequently may be admitted to the honour of sharing his privacy. This, of course, necessitates a festal portal and some ornamented apartments, generally opening on a court in the interior, but of a less solid character than the real state apartments of the palace; and such may have existed on the south-western side, where nothing is now found. Beyond this, this harem, like every other, seems to have consisted of smaller, comparatively mean rooms, occupied by the wives of the king, their women and attendants, and the eunuchs, who, to judge from the sculptures, were as numerous, and probably more important, in the days when this palace was built, than they ever were at any period of Persian history."*

That the condition of women among the Assyrians was one of rigid privacy and seclusion, much like that which etiquette prescribed among the Persians in ancient times,† and among all orientals at the present day, appears also from their exclusion from

* *Palaces of Nineveh, &c.*, p. 256.

† At Belshazzar's impious feast, the wives and the concubines of the king were present with him and his thousand lords (*Dan. v. 2*). By comparing this with what *Quintus Curtius* (*v. 1*) tells us of the shameless grossness of the Babylonian banquets, we may perhaps infer that the seclusion of female society had been relaxed by the degeneracy of morals, rather than that it had never been prescribed, in that kingdom. And yet

the scenes represented in the bas-reliefs. In the sieges of foreign cities, indeed, women are often seen on the battlements of the fortresses, deprecating the wrath of the assailants, and they are frequently shown among the prisoners of war, carried with their children into captivity. But perhaps not a single example has yet occurred of an Assyrian woman being represented in the sculptures, with the dubious exception of one or two priestesses.

In Egypt it was far otherwise; the social intercourse of the sexes was apparently as free as in the modern nations of Western Europe. The queen is continually seen sitting side by side with the reigning Pharaoh, sharing his royal throne; ladies and gentlemen are represented as assembled in convivial parties, and women of all ranks are depicted as carrying on the various offices of domestic life.

In Israel the state of female society was intermediate, or rather both of these conditions existed together. Abundant allusions and statements in the Scriptures show that the appearance of women in public, and their unrestrained social intercourse with the other sex, were common. Yet, on the other hand, the practice of marrying many wives and keeping an establishment of still more numerous concubines, commenced by David,* carried to such a fatal height by Solomon, and maintained in an in-

among the Persians, the queen sat with the king in open court (Neh. ii. 6); and visited the council of state without scruple.—*Æschylus, Persians.*

* Some of the Judges, as Gideon (Judg. viii. 30, 31), Ibzan, and Abdon (xii. 9, 14), appear to have pushed the practice of polygamy to a very great extent.

ferior degree by Rehoboam, Abijah, and other of their successors, as well as the existence of eunuchs in the courts both of Judah and Israel, indicate that the Oriental custom of congregating females in secluded privacy was imitated by the Hebrew race, at least in the courts of their monarchs.

A very large portion of the area occupied by the platform remains unaccounted for, after all these courts and palaces have been restored. In some parts new excavations would doubtless bring to light new structures, and perhaps modify some of the inferences suggested. But probably over the larger portion of the area nothing would now be found but the platform itself, and the earth which forms a mound over it, undistinguishable from that of the surrounding plain. It is, however, exceedingly likely that extensive gardens occupied some part of the platform. The stories told by the Greeks of the wondrous hanging-gardens of Babylon, which were elevated on terraces as lofty as the city walls, though probably greatly exaggerated in their transmission, show that something of the sort existed; and the paradises or pleasure-grounds of Persia were very celebrated. Several allusions to gardens as accompaniments of a royal palace occur in the Scriptures (see 2 Kings xxi. 18, 26; xxv. 4; Neh. iii. 15; Jer. xxxix. 4; &c.), but the most to the purpose are those in the book of Esther.

And when these days were expired, the king made a feast unto all the people that were present in Shushan the palace, both unto great and small, seven days, in the court of the garden of the king's palace; where were white, green, and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen

and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble : the beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red, and blue, and white, and black marble. Esth. i. 5, 6.

And the king arising from the banquet of wine in his wrath went into the palace garden : and Haman stood up to make request for his life to Esther the queen ; for he saw that there was evil determined against him by the king. Then the king returned out of the palace garden into the place of the banquet of wine ; and Haman was fallen upon the bed whereon Esther was. Esth. vii. 7, 8.

The scene of this narrative was Shushan, but we may fairly presume that no greater dissimilarity existed between the plan of that palace and Persepolis, than between the latter and Khorsabad, especially when we remember that Persepolis was the actual residence of King Ahasuerus, having been erected by his grandfather and father. The palace-garden then, doubtless, like the palace itself, the harem, or "court of the women," the banquet-house, and all the other edifices, was on the platform, its court being paved with parti-coloured marbles, and furnished with marble pillars, to which were attached temporary curtains. It seems to us not improbable, that the quadrangle denominated by Mr. Fergusson the Temple Court at Khorsabad, may have been the court of the garden, especially since its position, being formed by the rear of the palace and the harem, would be peculiarly suitable for a scene appropriated to privacy, relaxation, and enjoyment. Such it appears were the qualities most prized in a garden :—"a garden *inclosed* is my sister, my spouse, a spring *shut up*, a fountain *sealed*." (Cant. iv. 12).

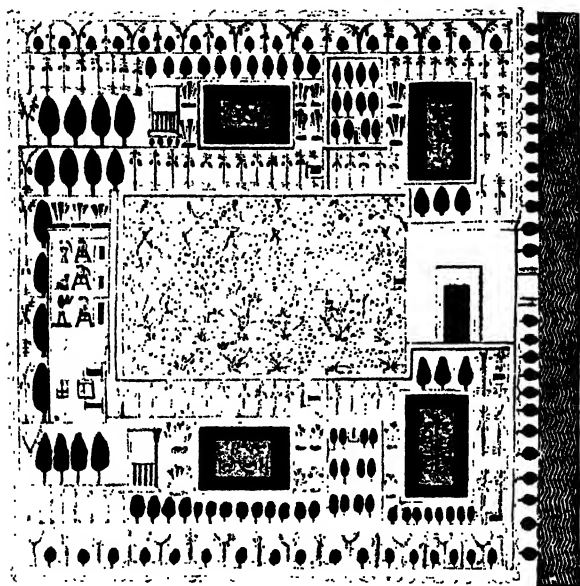
In the East, and especially[†] in Syria, it is not at

all uncommon at the present day to find a little pleasure garden in the quadrangle surrounded by the apartments of the house. The small dimensions of the spot constitute a less weighty objection with the Orientals than with us, inasmuch as their mode of enjoyment is not by walking about it, but by sitting in quiet meditative repose, refreshed by the sparkling of water in motion, and by the shadow of green foliage, and delighted by the gaiety and the perfume of the flowers that grow in luxuriant, unrepressed wildness around them. The presence of a small basin in the centre is indispensable, and, where it can be attained, a fountain or a spring is a valuable addition to the garden's charms.

In Egypt the taste for gardens was almost a passion; not only no palace, but no house, having any pretensions to respectability, was unfurnished with one. The inscriptions at Khorsabad expressly declare that it was built "after the Egyptian manner;" and though perhaps this expression admits of some latitude in interpretation, we may still be aided in our conceptions of the probability of a garden, as well as of its form and general appearance by the following engraving and description of a large Egyptian garden, as depicted by contemporary artists.

The garden here represented "stood beside a canal of the Nile, with an avenue of trees between it and the bank, on which side was the entrance. It was surrounded by an embattled wall, through which a noble gateway gave access to the garden. The central space was occupied by the vineyard, surrounded

by its own wall, in which the vines were trained on trellises, supported by slender pillars. At the farther end of the vineyard was a building of three stories, the windows from which opened over the



EGYPTIAN GARDEN.

luxuriant foliage and purple clusters, regaling the senses of both sight and smell. Four large tanks of water kept the vegetation well supplied with nutritive moisture; and, with the smooth and verdant turf which bordered them, the water-fowl that sported over their surface, and the lotus-flowers that sprang from their clear depths, added a new beauty

to the scene. Near the tanks stood summer-houses overlooking beds of various flowers, and sheltered from the sun by surrounding trees. Two inclosed spaces between the tanks, being filled with trees, were probably devoted to some species of particular rarity, or remarkable for the excellence of their fruit. Rows of date trees and Theban palms alternating with other trees, bordered the whole garden, and environed the vineyard wall."

Homer's description of the palace of the luxurious King Alcinous may be compared with what we know of those of Assyria. The plating of the walls and gates with polished metals, which reflecting the light of the sun so startled Ulysses, recalls to mind the glorious Temple of Solomon, of which the walls, the floors, the ceiling, the gates and their posts, as well as the altar and much of the furniture, were "overlaid with pure gold." (1 Kings vii.) The approach, lined with mastiffs, represents the portals, lined with bulls, of Khorsabad; and the allusion to the "inner house" seems to imply an arrangement somewhat analogous to what we find there. But it is to the charming description of the garden that we would chiefly call attention.

Ulysses then toward the palace moved
Of King Alcinous, but immersed in thought
Stood first, and paused ere with his foot he pressed
The brazen threshold; for a light he saw
As of the sun or moon illuming clear
The palace of Phœnix's mighty king,
Walls plated bright with brass, on either side
Stretch'd from the portal to the interior house,
With azure cornice crown'd; the floors were gold,

Which shut the palace fast ; *silver the posts,*
 Rear'd on a *brazen threshold*, and above,
 The *lintels silver, architaved with gold.*
Mustiffs, in gold and silver, lined th' approach
 On either side, with art celestial framed
 By Vulcan, guardians of Alcinous' gate
 For ever, unobnoxious to decay.
 Sheer from the threshold to the infer house
 Fix'd thrones the walls through all their length adorn'd,
 With mantles overspread of subtlest warp
 Transparent, work of many a female hand.
 On these the princes of Phœacia sat
 Holding perpetual feasts, while *golden youths*
On all the sumptuous altars stood, their hands
 With burning torches charged, which, night by night,
 Shed radiance over all the festive throng.

Without the court, and to the gates adjoin'd,
 A spacious garden lay, fenced all around
 Secure, four acres measuring complete.
 There grew luxuriant many a lofty tree,
 Pomegranate, pear, the apple blushing bright.
 The honey'd fig, and unctuous olive smooth.

. In an endless course

Pears after pears to full dimensions swell,
 Figs follow figs, grapes clust'ring grow again
 Where clusters grew, and (every apple stripp'd)
 The boughs soon tempt the gath'rer as before.
 There too, well rooted, and of fruit profuse,
 His vineyard grows ; part, wide-extended, basks
 In the sun's beams : the arid level glows ;
 In part they gather, and in part they tread
 The wine-press, while, before the eye, the grapes
 Here put their blossom forth, there gather fast
 Their blackness. On the garden's verge extreme
Flour's of all hues smile all the year, *arranged*
With neat art judicious ; and amid
 The lovely scene, *two fountains* welling forth,
 One visits, into every part diffused,

- The garden-ground, the other soft beneath
 The threshold steals *into the palace-court*,
 Whence every citizen his vase supplies.—*Odys.* vii. 97—162.

In the sacred narrative of Esther there is repeated reference to a banqueting hall, which seems to have opened directly into the palace-garden (*Esth.* vii. 7, 8). In the Song of Solomon also the same apartment is mentioned,—“He brought me to the banqueting house.” (*Cant.* ii. 4.)

The latter was probably the feasting room which Josephus describes in the following terms, as built by Solomon in his own palace. “He moreover built other edifices for pleasure; as also very long cloisters, and these situate in an agreeable place of the palace, and among them a most glorious dining-room, for feastings and computations, all full of gold and such other furniture as so fine a room ought to have for the conveniency of the guests, and where all the vessels were made of gold.”*

Diodorus says that Semiramis built beneath the palace gates in the western half of Babylon, “apartments of brass for entertainments, into which passages were opened by a certain engine. Instead of the curious portraiture of beasts, there were the brazen statues of Ninus and Semiramis, the great officers, and of Jupiter, whom the Babylonians call Belus; and likewise armies drawn up in battalia, and divers sorts of hunting were there represented, to the great diversion and pleasure of the beholders.”†

The hall commonly known as the Palace of Xerxes, near the south-west corner of the plat-

* *Joseph. Antiq.* viii. 5.

† *Diod. Sic.* ii. § 1.

form at Persepolis was probably the banqueting-room of that palatial edifice ; for the sculptures that adorn the windows are representations of attendants bringing dishes and vases for a feast.

At Khorsabad the great south-western hall of the palace, and a small room to the north of it, were largely decorated with emblems proper to such an appropriation. The upper series of slabs in both these apartments represented a great number of guests of rank seated at a banquet, the lower range in the smaller room being devoted to a sporting scene in one of the royal paradises. The details of these scenes we shall have another occasion to describe.*

In the north-west palace at Nimroud, Mr. Layard found a series of apartments which Mr. Fergusson is disposed to consider as the banqueting hall and its adjuncts. The decorations do not help us much to this conclusion ; for in such rooms as were faced with alabaster slabs, the subjects were almost exclusively priestly figures bearing the usual symbols ; one of the entrances was adorned by two gigantic figures crowned with garlands, and bearing in one hand an ear of corn, and in the other a young goat. Some of the walls were merely covered with a thin coat of plaster on the sun-dried bricks ; on this were sketched figures in outline, which could scarcely be traced ; but Mr. Layard supposes them to have represented the king followed by his eunuchs and warriors, and receiving prisoners and tribute.

Within these apartments were found, however,

* Mr. Fergusson probably overlooked these banquet-scenes. See his observations, *Palaces of Nineveh, &c.*, p. 322.

a number of copper vessels of peculiar shape, which all perished on exposure to the air; these may possibly have been appropriated to culinary or feasting purposes.* It was in these apartments also that our enterprising countryman obtained the curious ivory ornaments, most of which represent Egyptian subjects. It is probable that ivory was much used in the decoration of these rooms, inlaid with metals, and coloured glasses, as it was in Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Lucan, describing the highly adorned banquet-hall of Cleopatra, enumerates this among the other costly materials,—

“ With ivory was the entrance crusted o’er;”

and Horace, boasting his moderate way of living, declares that no ivory or golden ceiling glittered in his house.

Ivory also was largely used by Solomon, and perhaps by his successors, in the embellishment of their houses, and magnificent furniture, as the following passages indicate.

Moreover the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with the best gold. 1 Kings x. 18.

Now the rest of the acts of Ahab, and all that he did, and the ivory house which he made, and all the cities that he built, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel? 1 Kings xxii. 39.

All thy garments smell of myrrh, and aloes, and cassia, out of the ivory palaces, whereby they have made thee glad. Ps. xlv. 8.

And I will smite the winter house with the summer house; and the

* It is reported that Mr. Layard has since discovered in the Nimroud mound, beautifully engraved vessels in copper and bronze, and other objects of great interest, in an excellent state of preservation; but we are not informed in what part of the palace these have been found.

houses of ivory shall perish, and the great houses shall have an end, saith the Lord. Amos iii. 15.

Woe to them that are at ease in Zion, and trust in the mountain of Samaria, . . . that lie upon beds of ivory. Amos vi. 1, 4.

We shall close this chapter by quoting Mr. Layard's vivid and graphic description of an Assyrian palace, as it was when "the great king" trod its marble pavements in the height of his pride and glory. In some particulars, our readers will observe the learned author differs from Mr. Fergusson, as in the structure of the roof and the mode in which light was admitted. Both opinions are avowedly theories, and though we incline to the judgment of Mr. Fergusson, we do not pretend to decide the point.

"The interior of the Assyrian palace must have been as magnificent as imposing. I have led the reader through its ruins, and he may judge of the impression its walls were calculated to make upon one, who in the days of old, entered for the first time the abode of the Assyrian kings. He was ushered in through the portal guarded by the colossal lions or bulls of white alabaster. In the first hall he found himself surrounded by the sculptured records of the empire. Battles, sieges, triumphs, the exploits of the chase,* the ceremonies of religion,

* It is remarkable, how many customs of Ancient Assyria still exist in Modern Persia; transmitted, with scarcely any alteration, through a period of three thousand years. "The room," observes Mr. Morier, "in which we were introduced to the king, was painted and gilded in every part. On the left from the window is a large painting of a combat between the Persians and the Russians, in which the king appears at full length on a white horse, and makes the most conspicuous figure in

were portrayed on the walls, sculptured in alabaster, and painted in gorgeous colours. Under each picture were engraved, in characters filled up with bright copper, inscriptions describing the scenes represented. Above the sculptures were painted other events, the king attended by his eunuchs and warriors, receiving his prisoners, entering into alliances with other monarchs, or performing some sacred duty. These representations were enclosed in coloured borders of elaborate and elegant design. The emblematic tree, winged bulls, and monstrous animals, were conspicuous amongst the ornaments. At the upper end of the hall was the colossal figure of the king, in adoration before the supreme deity, or receiving from his eunuch the holy cup. He was attended by warriors bearing his arms, and by the priests or presiding divinities. His robes and those of his followers were adorned with groups of figures, animals, and flowers, all painted with brilliant colours.

“The stranger trod upon alabaster slabs, each bearing an inscription, recording the title, genealogy, and achievements of the great king. Several doorways, formed by gigantic winged lions or bulls, or by the figures of guardian deities, led into other apartments, which again opened into more distant

the whole composition. The Persians of course are victorious, and are very busily employed in killing the Russians, who seem to be falling a sufficiently easy prey; at a farther end of the scene is the Russian army drawn up in a hollow square, and firing their cannon and muskets without doing much apparent execution. Facing this great picture is another of equal dimensions, which represents the Shah in the chase, having just pierced a deer with a javelin.”—*Morier's First Journey*, p. 192.

halls. In each were new sculptures. On the walls of some were processions of colossal figures, armed men and eunuchs following the king, warriors laden with spoil, leading prisoners, or bearing presents and offerings to the gods. On the walls of others were portrayed the winged priests or presiding divinities, standing before the sacred trees.

“ The ceilings above him were divided into square compartments, painted with flowers, or with the figures of animals. Some were inlaid with ivory, each compartment being surrounded by elegant borders and mouldings. The beams, as well as the sides of the chambers, may have been gilded, or even plated with gold and silver; and the rarest woods, in which the cedar was conspicuous, were used for the wood-work. Square openings in the ceilings or the chambers admitted the light of day. A pleasing shadow was thrown over the sculptured walls, and gave a majestic expression to the human features of the colossal forms which guarded the entrances. Through these apertures was seen the bright blue of an eastern sky, enclosed in a frame on which were painted in vivid colours, the winged circle, in the midst of elegant ornaments, and the graceful forms of ideal animals.”*

* *Nineveh and its Remains*, i. 262, *et seq.*

W A R.

Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms ; that made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof ; that opened not the house of his prisoners ? Isa. xiv. 16, 17.

The lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin. Nah. ii. 12.

OF the truth of the portrait which Scripture draws of the Assyrian monarchy, the monuments now in course of exhumation afford striking confirmation. The prominent place given to scenes of battle, carnage, conquest, and spoil, in the sculptured and pictured embellishments of the royal palaces, show how large a part martial exploits had in the ambition of the king, and how much war was considered as his proper occupation. In these scenes he is depicted as taking his eager part in all the varieties of warfare that the age was acquainted with, or the genius of the artist could supply ; now going forth with his armed bands and chariot-warriors, now pouring forth the winged shafts from his mighty bow as he stands in his advancing car : now, regardless of fatigue, he descends from his chariot, and mingles in the thick of the fight on foot ; now he besieges a walled city, shoots his arrows against its battlements, and brings

up his powerful rams and engines against its walls; now he fords rivers, scales mountains, penetrates forests in pursuit of his foes; now he reviews his captives led away in bonds, returns in triumphal procession at the head of his victorious captains and military eunuchs, or receives in his palace the treasure and spoil of various kinds that his successful enterprises have produced. These were the favourite subjects of palatial art in those days; in the contemplation of which the royal conqueror was never tired; they were the records of national and personal glory, in the splendour of which he desired his name to be emblazoned in the eyes of posterity.

When the numerous cuneiform inscriptions which exist on the monuments,—the true records of Assyrian history, to which the bas-reliefs bear about the same relation as the pictorial illustrations of our modern works bear to the letter-press,—are translated and published in an European language, we shall doubtless acquire a far more accurate acquaintance with the subjects treated of in this volume than we can possibly obtain at present by the aid of the sculptures alone. This achievement the literary world may hope to see accomplished at no distant day, thanks to the learning, the perseverance, and the skill of such men as Colonel Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, Professor Grotefend, and other labourers in this inviting but arduous field. Meanwhile the version of the famous inscription on the Black Obelisk, published by Colonel Rawlinson, affords us a specimen of the events of an Assyrian monarch's reign, as registered by himself on

a public monument intended to perpetuate his glory. We see here how truly WAR was *the business of his life*.

The king, Temen-bar II., whose conquests are thus recorded, was the builder of the central palace at Nimroud, and the son of Sardanapalus (Assar-adan-pal) who built, or at least inhabited and adorned, the north-west palace of the same mound, the oldest monument of Assyrian art yet discovered. A remote antiquity must therefore be assigned to his reign, though its exact chronology cannot yet be fixed.* The reign of Temen-bar was long, and each of the thirty-one years through which it was protracted, witnessed a campaign of conquest and spoliation against some one or more of the surrounding nations. Many of these expeditions were against tribes already subjugated, but rising in rebellion against the iron yoke of the conqueror; and we see that the empire of Assyria at the time of this record extended to the Mediterranean, to the Caspian, and to the Persian Gulf. The greater part of these expeditions the monarch conducted in person, but towards the latter portion of his reign his advancing age probably diminished his activity, for the conduct of his wars was then generally entrusted to his faithful veteran commander Datarasar, the partner of his exploits, and the sharer of his fame throughout his lengthened reign.

The whole of this register, though of great geographical and historical interest, is too long for our

* See, however, the Appendix to this volume for evidence that it was contemporary with that of Jehu, king of Israel.

pages; but we transcribe the events of the first ten years, from Colonel Rawlinson's valuable lectures.

After a lengthened invocation of his idol gods, the enumeration of his titles, and the specification of his genealogy, Temen-bar says:—"At the commencement of my reign, after that I was established on the throne, I assembled the chiefs of my people and came down into the plains of Esmes, where I took the city of Haridu, the chief city belonging to Nakharni.*

"In the first year of my reign, I crossed the Upper Euphrates, and ascended to the tribes who worshipped the god Husi. My servants erected altars (or tablets) in that land to my gods. Then I went on to the land of Khamána, where I founded palaces, cities, and temples. I went on to the land of Málar, and there I established the worship (or laws) of my kingdom.

"In the second year, I went up to the city of Tel Barasba, and occupied the cities of Ahuni, son of Hateni. I shut him up in his city; I then crossed the Euphrates, and occupied the cities of Dabagu and Abarta belonging to the Sheta, together with the cities which were dependent on them.

* The Laws of Menu appoint that a king going on a martial expedition should "set out in the fine month *Mārgaśhīrsha*, or about the month of *Phālguna* and *Chaitra*, according to the number of his troops, *that he may find autumnal or vernal crops in the country invaded by him*" (vii. 182).

Whether the Assyrian kings observed any such rule, we know not, but we think it throws light on the following passage:*

And it came to pass, that after the year was expired, [at the return of the year, *marg.*] at the time that kings go out to battle,—1 Chron. xx. 1.

"In the third year, Ahuni, son of Hateni, rebelled against me, and having become independent, established his seat of government in the city of Tel Barasba. The country beyond the Euphrates he placed under the protection of the god Assarac, the Excellent, while he committed to the god Rimmon, the country between the Euphrates and the Arteri, with its city of Bither, which was held by the Sheta. Then I descended into the plains of Elets. The countries of Elets, Shakni, Dayini, Enem (?), Arzaskân, the capital city of Arama, king of Ararat, Lazan and Hubiska, I committed to the charge of Detarasar. Then I went out from the city of Nineveh, and crossing the Euphrates, I attacked and defeated Ahuni, the son of Hateni, in the city of Sitrat, which was situated upon the Euphrates, and which Ahuni had made one of his capitals. The rest of the country I brought under subjection; and Ahuni, the son of Hateni, with his gods and his chief priests, his horses, his sons and his daughters, and all his men of war, I brought away to my country of Assyria. Afterwards I passed through the country of Shelâr (or Kelâr), and came to the district of Zoba. I reached the cities belonging to Nikti, and took the city of Yedi, where Nikti dwelt. (A good deal of this part of the inscription I have been obliged to translate almost conjecturally, for on the Obelisk the confusion is quite bewildering; the engraver having, as I think, omitted a line of the text which he was copying, and the events of the third and fourth year being thus mingled together: while in the Bull Inscription, where the

date is preserved, showing that the final action with Ahuni took place in the fourth, and not in the third year, the text is too much mutilated to admit of our obtaining any connected sense. I pass on accordingly to the fifth year.)

“ In the fifth year, I went up to the country of Abyari; I took eleven great cities; I besieged Akitta of Erri in his city, and received his tribute.

“ In the sixth year, I went out from the city of Nineveh, and proceeded to the country situated on the river Belek. The ruler of the country having resisted my authority, I displaced him and appointed Tsimba to be lord of the district; and I there established the Assyrian sway. I went out from the land on the river Belek, and came to the cities of Tel-Aták (?) and Habaremya. Then I crossed the Upper Euphrates and received tribute from the kings of the Sheta. Afterwards I went out from the land of the Sheta and came to the city of Umen (?) In the city of Umen (?) I raised altars to the great gods. From the city of Umen I went out and came to the city of Barbara. Then Hem-ithra of the country of Atesh, and Arhulena of Hamath, and the kings of the Sheta, and the tribes which were in alliance with them, arose: setting their forces in battle array they came against me. By the grace of Assârac, the great and powerful god, I fought with them and defeated them; 20,500 of their men I slew in battle, or carried into slavery. Their leaders, their captains, and their men of war, I put in chains.

“In the seventh year, I proceeded to the country belonging to Khabni of Tel-ati. The city of Tel-ati, which was his chief place, and the towns which were dependent on it, I captured and gave up to pillage. I went out from the city of Tel-ati and came to the land watered by the head-streams which form the Tigris. The priests of Assarac in that land raised altars to the immortal gods. I appointed priests to reside in the land to pay adoration to Assarac, the great and powerful god, and to preside over the national worship. The cities of this region which did not acknowledge the god Assarac I brought under subjection, and I here received the tribute of the country of Nahiri.

“In the eighth year, against Sut-Baba, king of Taha-Dunis, appeared Sut-Bel-herat and his followers. The latter led his forces against Sut-Baba and took from him the cities of the land of Beth Takara.

“In the ninth year, a second time I went up to Armenia and took the city of Lamanta. By the assistance of Assarac and Sut, I obtained possession of the person of Sut-Bel-herat. In the city of Umen I put him in chains. Afterwards Sut-Bel-herat, together with his chief followers, I condemned to slavery. Then I went down to Shinar, and in the cities of Shinar, of Borsippa, and of Ketika, I erected altars and founded temples to the great gods. Then I went down to the land of the Chaldees, and I occupied the cities, and I marched on as far even as the tribes who dwelt on the sea-coast. Afterwards in the city of Shinar, I received the tribute of the

kings of the Chaldees, Hateni, the son of Dákri, and Baga-Sut, the son of Hukni, gold, silver, gems, and pearls.

"In the tenth year, for the eighth time I crossed the Euphrates. I took the cities belonging to Aralura of the town of Shalumas, and gave them up to pillage. Then I went out from the cities of Shalumas, and I proceeded to the country belonging to Arama (who was king of Ararat). I took the city of Arnia, which was the capital of the country, and I gave up to pillage one hundred of the dependent towns. I slew the wicked, and I carried off the treasures."*

We shall not pursue the extract farther than this campaign, which derives a more than usual interest from an attempt to identify it with Chedorlaomer's reduction of Sodom; an interpretation which, if successful, would fix also the chronology of Temenbar's reign, to the twentieth century B.C.

Mr. Fergusson observes,—“It would not, perhaps, be easy to prove it, but I cannot avoid the conviction that the campaign recorded in the tenth year of the Obelisk Annals is virtually the contemporary bulletin of the earliest war recorded in Scripture; for if we read as ‘Sodom,’ the name now doubtfully read as ‘Shalumas,’ every circumstance of time and place accords most perfectly, without one valid objection to the identification, that I know of.”†

We cannot, however, discern any important point

* Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions, 32, *et seq.*

† Palaces of Nineveh, &c., p. 76.

of resemblance between the two events, except the slight similarity between the words Sodom and Shalumas, but many points of discrepancy. Chedorlaomer was certainly the "great king" who made the war, for though in the first verse of the chapter (Gen. xiv.) Amraphel, the king of Shinar, and Arioch, king of Ellasar, are mentioned before him, yet afterwards he is mentioned first in the general enumeration (*ver.* 9), and repeatedly he is spoken of alone by name, and the others are described as "with him" (*ver.* 5, 17). And to remove all doubt, it is expressly stated that the kings of the vale of Siddim were tributary to Chedorlaomer, and rebelled against him.

But that Chedorlaomer was not the Temen-bar of the Obelisk is evident; for the expedition against Sodom was in the thirteenth year of servitude to that monarch; whereas the war against Shalumas was in the tenth year of Temen-bar's reign. Chedorlaomer was slain (*ver.* 17) in that campaign; but Temen-bar lived to record his exploits through more than twenty years after his expedition against Shalumas. The king of this place is named Aralura, whereas the name of the king of Sodom was Bera. The former is described as lord of eighty-seven cities, all of which fell under the Assyrian monarch's prowess, and were pillaged, not only in this campaign, but also in that of the following year. The latter seems to have possessed none other than Sodom; for his four confederates, of equal rank with himself, each reigned over a city in the small though fertile valley of Siddim. These and other objections that could be mentioned, seem to us utterly insu-

perable to the indentification proposed by Mr. Fergusson.

The city Shalumas, Colonel Rawlinson says, was the capital of the Hittites, and the chief place apparently in Syria, and must represent, it would seem, either Baalbek, or Damascus, or Jerusalem. With the last-named of these, in its early appellation, Salem, שֶׁלֶם, the word Shalumas appears to present almost a literal identity; but the close connexion between it and Ararat, according to Colonel Rawlinson's reading, militates against this identification.

The number of troops which the Assyrian monarchs were accustomed to bring into the field would of course vary at different periods. We get a notion of it by Temen-bar's expressions in the record of the fourteenth year's campaign. "*I raised the country, and assembled a great army: with 120,000 warriors, I crossed the Euphrates.*"*

At a much later era the army of Sennacherib, which was totally destroyed in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem by the immediate power of God, consisted of 185,000 men. And the forces placed by Nabuchodonosor under the command of Holofernes, for the subjugation of Syria and Palestine, amounted to

* Ctesias describes Ninus as invading Bactria with 1,700,000 foot, 210,000 horse, and 10,600 hooked chariots (Diod. ii. § 1), but this statement is of little authority.

In the Ramáyana a perfect army is composed of 19,683 chariots, 19,683 elephants, 52,049 cavalry, and 147,620 infantry. These must be understood, however, as poetical, rather than actual numbers.

120,000 foot and 12,000 horse (Judith ii. 5, 15); but the infantry was augmented at the siege of Bethulia, to 170,000, doubtless by levies from the conquered provinces (vii. 2).

The preparation of this great host is described by the Jewish author in terms interesting in themselves, and confirmed by the evidence of the monuments.

Then Holofernes went forth from the presence of his lord, and called all the governors and captains, and the officers of the army of Assur; and he mustered the chosen men for the battle, as his lord had commanded him unto an hundred and twenty thousand, and twelve thousand *archers on horseback*. And he ranged them, as a great army is ordered for the war. And he took camels and asses for their carriages, a very great number; and sheep and oxen and goats without number for their provision; and plenty of victual for every man of the army, and very much gold and silver out of the king's house. Then he went forth and all his power to go before king Nabuchodonosor in the voyage, and to cover all the face of the earth westward with their *chariots* and their *horsemen*, and their chosen *footmen*. A great number also of sundry countries came with them like locusts, and like the sand of the earth; for the multitude was without number. Judith ii. 15—20.

Xenophon, in that interesting romance, the *Cyropædia*, makes the Assyrian army to consist of 60,000 horse, and upwards of 200,000 archers and targeteers, these latter being always associated together, quite in conformity to what we know from the sculptures was the custom.

There is no doubt that in so great an empire, founded and established by martial enterprise, in the midst of and over warlike nations, military discipline and tactics were well studied and carried to a high pitch of excellence. Of this, however, we can learn little from the sculptures, nor do the

inscriptions yet read throw much light on it. The record of Temen-bar repeatedly alludes to three ranks of soldiers, "the leaders, and captains, and men of war," or as it is elsewhere expressed, "superior officers, captains, and fighting men," besides the commander-in-chief. These are, it is true, the forces of an enemy; the king of the powerful city and state of Atesh, in Syria; but probably there was not much difference between the discipline of the two armies. The proportion of the officers to the ranks is interesting; 460 superior officers, 1,121 captains, and 13,000 fighting men are enumerated.

Nothing like an array of battle, or order of march, appears in the more ancient sculptures;* with the exception of the curious association of the soldiery in pairs, the one offensive the other defensive, the warriors are seen scattered promiscuously over the field, each apparently choosing his own station and mode of fighting. Probably, however, this is largely to be attributed to the taste of the artist, who doubtless wished to give as much of variety and of interest to the scene as he could. The prominence given to archery shows that the body of the army was much more depended on than it was at the siege of Troy, where Homer makes the fighting to consist of little else than a series of single combats between the heroes; and the prowess or success of some herculean chief often decides the fate of a battle.†

* The array of troops on a march, in prescribed forms, is distinctly mentioned in the Laws of Menu (vii. 187).

† Homer, it is true, vaunts the Grecian discipline and martial order in contrast with those of the Trojan host, which he ignominiously compares to a flock of bleating sheep answering their calling lambs without the fold.

In the later eras disciplined troops are clearly represented, and we trace something like a regular order of battle. Thus at Khorsabad (Botta, pl. 99) the front rank is composed of archers alone, evidently mercenaries or allies (their caps, pointed beards, and short coats, distinguishing them from the Assyrian troops); then follows a troop of archers, each protected by his targeteer; behind these are stationed warriors armed with the spear and round buckler; and these are succeeded by a rank of archers shielded by round buckler bearers. All the native troops in this scene are heavy-armed.

In a siege from the same palace, Assyrian soldiers with spear and shield rush to assault the battlements; the battering ram is drawn up to the wall, guarded by archers and targeteers. A band of mercenary archers, and one of Assyrian archers and targeteers in pairs, fully armed, behind the former, are stationed in the plain.

Sometimes the arrangement is different. The front rank is composed of spearmen with round bucklers, the second of archers, who kneel on one knee to shoot, and the third of archers erect, who

But it is probable this superiority existed only in the poet's partial sympathies; in either army a single chieftain could break and rout a phalanx. The arrangement of his band by the wisest of the Greeks, perhaps indicates the feebleness of the foot soldiery as an arm of war.

————— In his front

The charioteers, the chariots, and the steeds,
He placed, his bravest infantry behind,
And in the midst, that, luck'd as by a wall,
They might perforce be brave, the tim'rous few.

Il. iv. 320.

are thus able to aim over the heads of their fellows.

The same sort of arrangement is shown in the Kouyunjik bas-reliefs, where also long lines of troops are represented in march. Cavalry appears here in large bodies for the first time, galloping in regular order over broad roads cut through mountain-forests. Ranks of infantry are also introduced, one of which consists of men armed with the spear alone, another of men wielding nothing but the mace; and again, another rank armed with the spear and round shield.*

We have no evidence that the trumpet, used by the Egyptians to form the troops and lead them to the charge at the very earliest periods†—was ever so employed by the Assyrians; though the Hebrews carried the knowledge of it into Asia (Judg. i. and ii. and Sam. *passim*), and used it, under various forms, both in war and religion, abundantly. Homer alludes to it to construct a simile,—

As when fierce foes approach the city walls,
Shrill sounds the trumpet to alarm the town.

Il. xviii. 265.

Yet in battle he makes his heroes use their voices alone.

Among all the oriental nations of antiquity chariots were much employed in war. They

* Thus Herodotus was mistaken when he asserts that Cyrus, who finally overthrew Nineveh, "was the first who divided the Asiatics into cohorts, and first arranged them into spearmen, archers, and cavalry, whereas before they had been confusedly mixed together." Herod. i. 103.

† Wilkinson i. 297.

form as prominent a feature in the sieges and battle scenes of Assyria as in those of Egypt. What number of war-cars the Assyrian monarch was able to bring into action, we have no means of knowing with certainty; the common proportion in the East seems to have been about one chariot to 100 horsemen. Thus Xenophon in the passage just cited (*Cyrop.* ii.) describes the Assyrian as bringing 20,000 horse and 200 chariots, as his own proper subsidy against Cyrus. This ratio would give for Temen-bar's great army 1,200 chariots. Solomon, in the height of his magnificence, had 1,400 chariots, but only 12,000 horsemen, whom, with the former, he bestowed in certain "chariot cities." (1 Kings x. 26.) "All the chariots of Egypt," wherewith Pharaoh pursued Israel to the Red Sea, amounted to but 600 (*Exod.* xiv. 7); Jabin, the powerful king of northern Canaan, had 900 "chariots of iron;" which are spoken of as a large number (*Judg.* iv. 3, 13); Hadarezer, the King of Zobah, had 1,000 chariots (*1 Chron.* xviii. 4). These are the largest numbers mentioned in Scripture, with two exceptions (30,000 in *1 Sam.* xiii. 5, and 32,000 in *1 Chron.* xix. 7), in both of which cases there is probably some source of error, in the text or in the rendering.

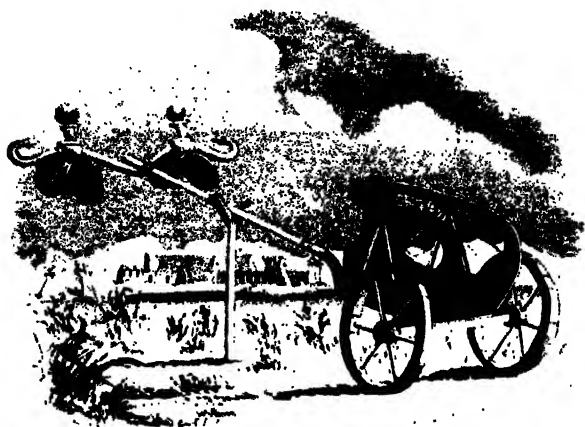
The Assyrian chariot of the Nimroud period was a small light box, nearly square, open behind and at the top, with the posterior corner of each side rounded, and sometimes higher than the fore-part. In general form and appearance it almost exactly agreed with that of Egypt, but was panelled, instead of open, at the sides. The rim (*ἀντροξ*) was

generally ornamented with a handsome moulding. The axle was affixed to the body at or very near the hinder margin, so as to throw the weight upon the



horses, by which the severity of the jolting (which otherwise from the absence of springs would have been almost intolerable) was greatly mitigated. In

the Egyptian car, where the same contrivance was adopted, the effect was further secured by making the bottom of interlaced thongs, a strong but very elastic flooring.



EGYPTIAN CHARIOT.

The wheels had the felloe (or circumference) very deep, made of from three to six pieces; whether it was bound with a tyer of metal is not shown, but it probably was, like that of the Greek and Trojan chariot.* Its inner margin was strengthened by broad transverse bands, probably of metal. The spokes were six, slender, usually plain, inserted in sockets in a light nave, which was hollowed between them. No lynch-pin, for keeping the wheels on the

* And that of the Hindoos also. "As the ring embraces the wheel," —is a simile of the Sama Veda, a poem of the fifteenth or sixteenth century B.C. Stevenson's transl., p. 19.

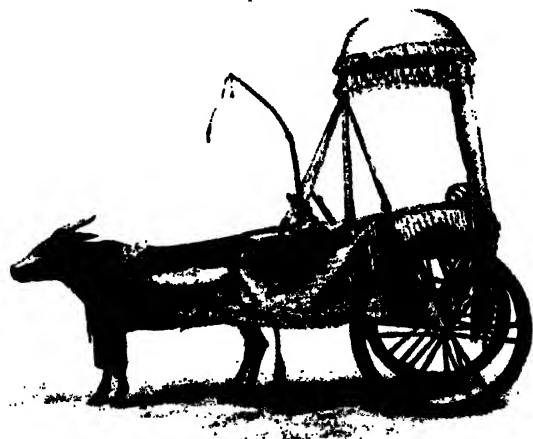
axle, is represented, but a sort of button, or nut, seems to have answered the same purpose.

From the centre of the axle proceeded the pole, which, after passing beneath the body of the car, rose immediately in front of it with a salient curve, and passed on in a slanting upward line to the shoulders of the horses. The extremity appears to have been simple, generally, but sometimes to have curved upward in the form of a long neck, ending in the head of a bull or other animal.* A broad crescentic ornament, set on a foot-stalk, was usually attached to this end of the pole; and between it and the front of the car passed a long elliptical apparatus, of which neither the use nor the material can be determined. It was elaborately painted or embroidered, and was generally divided transversely into three compartments, containing sacred emblems, such as the sun, moon, seven stars, and the horned-cap. Mr. Layard conjectures that it was a light wooden frame-work, covered with linen or silk, and intended as an ornament.†. Something analogous to this is found in the *eka*, a canopied carriage for a single horse, or small ox, used in the Nizam, an example of which is in the Great Exhibition. The shafts are curved, arching outwards, and approaching at the horse's breast, where they are joined by another accessory pair of shafts proceeding from the upper part of the front of the car. To each of these

* These parts are usually concealed by the horses, and when they are sculptured, the lack of perspective, and the confusion of the surrounding parts, render the structure intricate and uncertain.

† Nineveh and its Remains, ii. 350.

latter is attached a piece of embroidered cloth, closely resembling in form this Assyrian ornament, just reaching to the lower shaft, where it hangs loose, its bottom being ornamented with gold and silver fringe.



KKA OF NIZAM.

The hinder part of the pole was elegantly carved, and as the great strain would necessarily fall upon the point where it curved abruptly upwards, it was here strengthened with hoops, probably of metal; a rod or cord also passed from the front of the chariot-rim to this part of the pole.*

† Carriages with two and even three poles were used by the Lydians (*Æsch. Pers.*). The chariot of Abradates, the Susian king, was made with four poles, and was drawn with eight horses, showing that these were indeed poles and not shafts. Cyrus taking hence the hint, made one with eight poles, so as to admit eight yoke of oxen. This, however, was a cumbersome machine, a sort of moveable castle, fifteen feet high, on which were mounted twenty fighting men.—*Cyrop.* vi.

At one side of the car, near the front, was a socket, in which was sometimes set perpendicularly the staff of the standard, presently to be described; and at one of the hinder corners there was another socket frequently carved into a human face, from which projected diagonally a spear, or, occasionally, a pole carved in imitation of a spear. Two large quivers were hung across each other at each side, which will be more particularly described hereafter.

Two persons ordinarily rode in each chariot, of whom one was the warrior, the other the charioteer, just as Homer describes (*Iliad*, *passim*).^{*} These were manifestly of equal rank. Sometimes a third rider was present, who in that case generally maintained his position, by holding a loop affixed to the front rim, because, from the narrowness of the chariot, and from his being behind, he was liable to be thrown out.

The ancient Hindoo chariot had posts standing up from the body of the car, which the riders laid hold of, when the unsteadiness of its motion caused danger of their falling out.[†]

The smallness and lightness of the Assyrian chariot were such that one man carried it on his shoulders, while another bore up the pole. So at the siege of

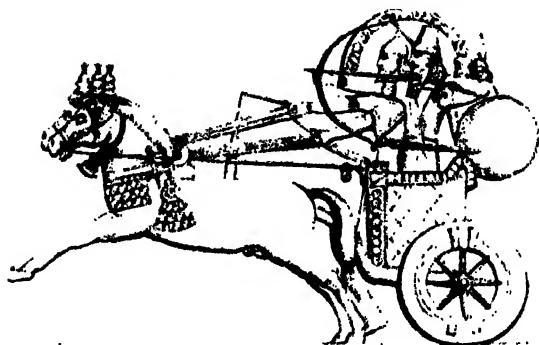
^{*} The Hebrew chariot carried double (1 Kings xxii. 34); the Egyptian, like the Assyrian, bore generally two, sometimes three. The chariots of the early Britons carried a warrior and a driver, of whom the latter took the higher rank. It was open *beside*, and thus the warrior could run along the pole, and smite his enemies here and there with great effect.

[†] Rig Veda (with the scholium), pp. 94. 126.

Troy, the terrible Diomede could not only draw but carry, his war chariot.

— He, projecting still some hardier deed,
 Stood doubtful, whether by the pole to draw
 The chariot thence, *laden with gorgeous arms,*
 Or whether, heaving it on high, to *hurl*
The burden off.

Il. x. 576.

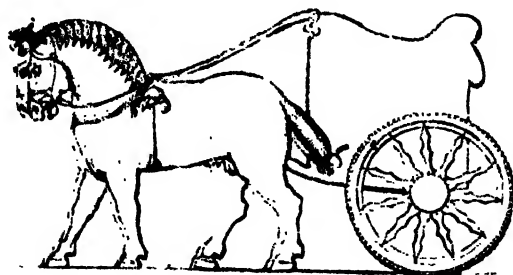


RHORSABAD CHARIOT.

In the later Assyrian era the form and appearance of the chariot had greatly altered. It was larger, and was placed on loftier wheels; it was perfectly parallel-sided, deeper than wide, and the posterior upper corner of each side carried a curious angular projection, difficult to explain, which subsequently became rounded off. The sides or panels were carved in some regular pattern; the crossed quivers and bow-cases were removed, and a quiver was attached perpendicularly, along each front angle; sometimes, however, it seems to have been dispensed

with altogether. The wheels had eight spokes. No trace of the elliptical ornament remained over the pole, but a cord, probably of twisted thongs, and gilded (being painted red in the sculptures), passed from the upper part of the front of the car to the extremity of the pole. This cord could be tightened by a loop being taken up in it, and drawn tightly through a ring.

There is a little difference between the form of the car, its pole, &c., on the Khorsabad sculptures and on those of Kouyunjik, though only one generation had intervened. It is interesting to observe how exactly in this form, especially the Kouyunjik modification, it agrees with the chariots of the Persepolitan bas-reliefs, because we thus trace the



PERSEPOLITAN CHARIOT.

transfer of Assyrian customs to their Persian successors. *

- * Æschylus attributes the chariot of Xerxes to Assyria:—
 His gorgeous standard blazing to the sky,
 Rolls onward his Assyrian car.

The Persians, 328.

The chariot never seems to have been used as an actual weapon of war, but only as a means of conveyance, like those of the Greeks and Trojans. No scythes are ever represented on the axle, thus disproving the statement of Ctesias (Diod. ii. § 1) that Ninus employed them in the subjugation of Bactria, and confirming the correctness of Xenophon (Cyrop. vi.), who attributes this invention to Cyrus, expressly.

In the earlier era three horses were always attached to each car, two of which drew by means of a yoke transversely set on the end of a pole. The external horse is supposed to have been supernumerary, and to have been intended as a reserve. But in a chariot represented in a Khorsabad bas-relief, borne by attendants, the yoke certainly appears intended to receive four horses.* Yet in the battle scenes of this period, the number represented is, almost invariably, two, though the reins in each hand of the charioteer are always *three*, a curious anomaly.

We incline to think that the ancient chariot was drawn by the yoke alone, just as a bullock-cart is with us. Nothing of the nature of traces is visible in the sculptures of either Assyria, Egypt, or Persia. So,

* The only example in the *Iliad* of a chariot drawn by four horses is that of Hector. (*Il.* viii. 219.) Two is the ordinary number.

"Chariots of gold, each drawn by four white horses, each adorned with a hundred golden bells"—are mentioned in the *Ramayana* (i. § 41); but in the *Sāma Veda*, a work of higher antiquity, the chariot horses of Indra, so continually alluded to, are never more than a pair.—*Stevenson's Samhita*, 55, 69, &c.

in Homer, when Pallas snapped the yoke of Eumelus in the race,—

· wide flew the startled mares,
And the loose pole dropp'd end-long to the ground.
He from the chariot roll'd, &c.

H. xxiii. 475.

And the bruised and battered hero had no resource but to draw the car himself to the goal, driving the mares before him. But, surely, if they had been attached by traces, he might easily have raised the pole and fastened them together so as to support it, in some temporary manner, with the straps and cords of the harness. But the case of Adrastus is still more conclusive, whose steeds—

· snapp'd the pole,
And with the splinter'd fragment flew to Troy.

H. vi. 43.

It is uncertain what the material of the chariot was. From the frequent mention of the circumstance that the chariots with which the Hebrews were familiar, were “burned in the fire” (*Josh. xi. 6, 9; 2 Kings xxiii. 11; Ps. xlv. 9*), we may infer that they were generally made of wood; especially as the same thing is predicated of those of Assyria in particular, “I will burn her chariots in the smoke” (*Nah. ii. 13*). The “iron chariots,” which the Canaanites possessed (*Josh. xvii. 16; Judg. i. 19; iv. 3, 13*), and which were looked upon with so much terror, were probably adorned and strengthened with that metal in an unusual manner. Much metal was employed in beautifying the Greek and Trojan war-cars; Agamemnon’s “bright with glit-

tering brass," the "brazen chariot bright" of Achilles, the Thracian Rhesus' "burning with gold and silver," and Diomedes's "radiant with tin and gold," will recur to the classical reader, as well as the continual application of such terms as "splendid," "shining," "bright," to the vehicle. Homer's beau idéal of a chariot is seen, doubtless, in that which he confers on Juno, of which he gives the following gorgeous description.

· Hebe to the chariot roll'd
The brazen wheels, and join'd them to the smooth
Steel axle ; twice four spokes divided each,
Shot from the centre to the verge. The verge
Was gold, by fellows of eternal brass
Guarded ; a dazzling show. The shining naves
Were silver ; silver cords and cords of gold
The seat upbore ; two crescents blazed in front.
The pole was argent all, to which she bound
The golden yoke* with its appendant charge
Inserted, traces, straps, and bands of gold.—*Il.* v. 807.†

Mention is here made of a seat (as also in iii. 292, xxiii. 604) on which the Grecian charioteer and warrior sat side by side. The Assyrian chariot,

* The chariot of Savitri in the Rig Veda is described as decorated with many kinds of golden ornaments, and furnished with golden yokes.—Wilson's Transl., p. 98.

† He elsewhere mentions the *poplar* as ordinarily supplying the wheels for "some splendid chariot" (*Il.* iv. 522) ; and the axle of the illustrious Diomedes's war-car as made of *beech* (v. 945). Æschylus, however, speaks of

" ——— the wheels of brass
Loud rattling on their axles ;" —Potter's *Suppl.* 59 ;

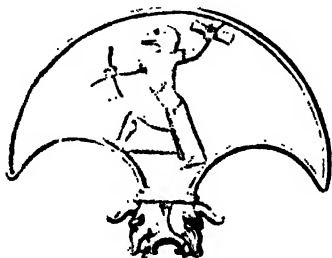
and the prophet Nahum (iii. 2) uses the same expression, "the rattling of the wheels," of the chariots of Nineveh.

however, was not so furnished in any period of which we have monumental records, the king himself invariably standing in his car, even when luxury had prompted the invention of the carriage-parasol with its depending veil. The Egyptian chariot was equally unprovided; and so, as it appears, was the Hebrew, for the wounded king Jehoram "sunk down in his chariot" (2 Kings ix. 24), and his predecessor Ahab, in similar circumstances, "was stayed up" (1 Kings xxii. 35). The early Hindoo chariot, on the other hand, had a seat for the charioteer in front, and carried two heroes behind him, but whether these were also seated, does not appear.*

The small crescentic plate, probably of polished metal, which adorned the end of the pole, or the centre of the yoke, in the early chariot, became by enlargement and elevation a standard in the Khor-sabad era. The general form was retained, a crescent, from the concave or lower side of which a stem descended, and rested on a base formed by two bulls' heads united, and the whole was set on a staff, which was affixed, probably by a socket, to the chariot pole. The surface of the crescent bore the figure of a vulture-headed priest, with arms and feet extended, carrying in each hand an implement resembling three points of a Maltese or Moline cross. The staff was supported by a line, connecting it with that of the principal standard, which, as we have before observed, was stepped in a socket near the front of the car.

* *Sanhita of the Sāma Veda* (Lond. 1842), p. 67.—*Mahābhārata* (Lond. 1831), p. 26.

It was, doubtless, an ornament analogous in position and origin to this, that, as we learn from Quintus Curtius (iii. 3), was attached to the yoke of Darius'

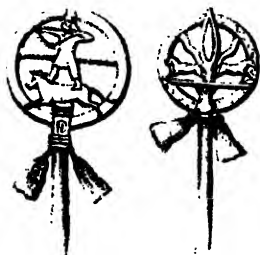


CRESCENT STANDARD.

chariot, over the horses' necks. It consisted of statuettes of Belus and Ninus, about eighteen inches high, with a spread eagle between them; the whole formed of gold. In the Persepolitan sculptures, however, we see it a simple crescentic disk, reduced to its original small dimensions; and not very diverse from the Nimroud examples.

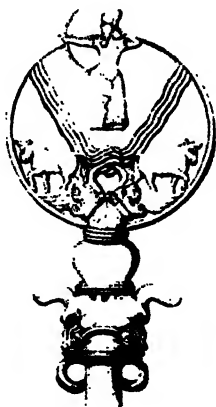
Two principal standards were affixed to the front of a chariot. Each consisted of a staff with a circle at its summit, inclosing, in the one case, an archer wearing the horned-cap, standing on a galloping bull; in the other, two bulls placed back to back, with a sort of fleur-de-lis between them. Two tassels hung below each circle. In the Nimroud era these were the only forms used, and the former always had the precedence. The hand of one of the riders frequently grasped the staff, but it

appears to have been for the purpose of steadying himself and not it, for, besides the socket into which



STANDARDS (*Nimroud*).

its butt fell, it was supported by a strong rope, that passed like a stay from the staff to the extremity of the chariot pole.



STANDARD (*Khorsabad*).

At Khorsabad a somewhat different form was

adopted; the circle, complicated with bulls' heads and lions' heads, and other peculiar devices, enclosed an archer above the space between two bulls; thus uniting the two standards of the more ancient period in one.

The paucity and simplicity of the Assyrian standards contrasted with the number and variety of those of Egypt and of Rome, in which many sorts of animals, real or fictitious, and other objects, were elevated on the tops of spears, and served as the rallying points for the divisions of the army, to which they were appropriated. The elevation of the ensign upon a carriage was peculiar to Asia. The Persian standard was a golden eagle with expanded wings, fixed on a spear, and set on a chariot. And, long after, we find the same custom among the Saracens, "in the midst of whom," says Turpin, "was a waggon drawn by eight horses, upon which was raised their red banner."* The crusaders introduced the fashion into England in the reign of Stephen; and thus the elevation of the royal standard of Henry V., at the battle of Agincourt, upon a car, may be traced up to a custom of the early Assyrians.

Standards and banners are frequently alluded to in the sacred Scriptures, and the tribes of the camp of Israel in the wilderness were distinguished by peculiar ensigns (Num. ii. 2, *et seq.*); but we possess no authentic information as to their forms or devices. Standards with devices on them are mentioned in the Mahâbhârata,† a Hindoo poem, the

* Hist. of Charlemagne. (See Meyrick, i. 50.)

† Major Price's translation (1831), p. 12.

action of which is fixed at about 1200 B.C., though the composition itself is probably much more recent.

Banners, or flags, of textile materials, seem not to have been used by the more ancient Assyrians, but tassels depended from their standards. The royal banner of Persia, from the time of Feridoon to the Mohammedan conquest, was the leathern apron of the blacksmith who headed a successful revolt from the tyrant Zohauk. Every successive prince thought it incumbent on him to augment its decorations, till at length it was almost literally covered with jewels. The Parthians decorated their banners with gold and silk; and the *rexillum* of the early Roman horse was a square piece of cloth, fixed to a cross-bar on a spear-point. The only thing of the kind in Homer is the purple veil which Agamemnon raises to rally his troops.

In the scene from Khorsabad, already noticed, representing an act of fire-worship in a fortified castle or camp, two objects are seen which appear to be of this character. Each consists of a pole with a globe at its summit set on a ring, below which are two short streamers of fringe. The one springs from a pedestal in the form of a truncated cone, the other from a table with lions' feet resting on a slab; and both are supported by inverted pine-cones. Mr. Fergusson has ingeniously introduced these banners into his restoration of the Palace Court of Khorsabad,* and has placed them, together with the religious ceremony which accompanies them, in front of the principal gateway. We rather believe, however, as

* Palaces of Nineveh, &c. (*Frontispiece*).

we shall afterwards notice more particularly, that they marked the entrance of the *prætorium* or royal pavilion in the camp.

Nothing is more remarkable in the sculptures than the gorgeous magnificence in which the chariot-horses are arrayed; and, could we see the original colours with which they were painted, and still more, could we have beheld the reality, the polished metals, the ornaments of stained and pure ivory, the necklaces, the plumes and coloured tassels, and the curiously wrought cloths of various dyes, the trappings would have appeared far more splendid than our imagination depicts them.

We may consider them as the head-gear, the collars, and the housings. The first of these was in principle much the same as ours: the branches of the bit were transverse instead of being longitudinal, and formed a straight bar, widening at each extremity, to which, as also to the centre, the cheek-strap, dividing into three parts, was affixed. The rein was attached to the centre. A simple fillet passed over the forehead, and a throat-band was attached to the cheek-strap just behind the temple. There was, however, a second throat-band much more loose, attached to the head-stall at the poll. Sometimes a high arch of metal passed from the forehead to the poll, bearing on it some ornament, such as a large tuft of fringe, or an imitation of a flower. All the straps were embossed with some device or pattern.

In the later eras the form of the trappings had much altered. The bit formed an arc of a circle,

the convexity towards the muzzle, and the rein was attached near the posterior end. The cheek-strap, head-band, and nose-fillet, were ornamented with large rosettes at regular intervals;* the hinder throat-band was wide, loose, full of rosettes, or other devices, and terminated below the throat in a ball, from which hung three large fringe-tassels, one below another. A bell was sometimes substituted for this.

But what was most characteristic of the head-dress of this period was the huge massive frontlet (*ἄμπυξ*), into which the simple fillet of the earlier age had grown. It was a thick mass, globose and bulging, on the forehead, but probably hollow, with the surface carved so as to resemble scales. We may conjecture that it was formed of metal, perhaps gold, like those which adorned the horses of the chariot of Hera and of Ares in Homer, thence called *χρυσάμπυκες*. The summit of the head bore a crest of some kind, sometimes a triple tassel-shaped tuft;

* The cheek-strap (*παρῆν*) in Homer's time seems to have been similarly decorated with ornaments of stained ivory, the preparation of which was the work of the ladies.

As when a Carian or Mæonian maid
Impurples ivory trappings for the cheeks
Of martial steeds; them many a warrior views
With wistful looks, but they at length become
The prince's boast, too rich for all besides.

Il. iv. 150.

The Toorkman chiefs on the Oxus at this day decorate their horses with "rosettes and loose pieces of leather, ornamented with gold and silver, which fall behind the ear of the animal, giving his head a showy and becoming appearance."—Burnes' *Bokhara*, i. 248.

sometimes a helmet-crest arching forward, and more commonly a crescent, with the points downward, set on a foot stalk, and surmounted by a ridge and a central tuft.*



HORSE-TRAPPING (Khorsabad).

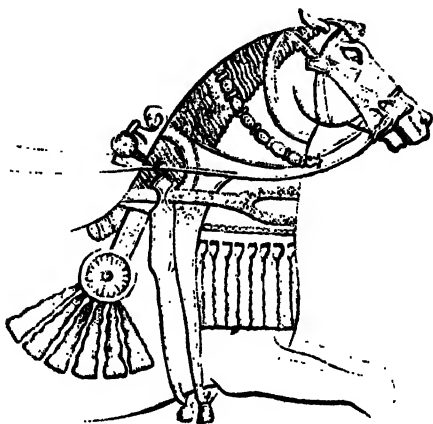
The reins were doubtless thongs of leather; but as they are coloured red in some of the Khorsabad

- His fiery-neighing steeds, that toss their heads,
Proud of their *wilding* plumes, eager to rush
Against the gates, and snorting champ their curbs,
Don't with barbaric pride.

Seven Chiefs, p. 121.

sculptures, they may possibly have been gilded in the more sumptuous caparisons.

The collars by which the horse was attached to the pole for the purpose of draught were broad



CHARIOT-HORSE (*Nimrod*).

straps of leather that passed round the neck and chest.* In the early time these were rather complex, and their form and arrangement will be under-

* Homer's description of this apparatus may be compared, though it is not very lucid:—

————— Next they lower'd from the wall
The sculptured boxen yoke with its two rings ;
And with the yoke its furniture, in length
Nine cubits. To the pole's extremest end
Adjusting this with care they cast the ring
Over the ring-bolt [or peg] ; then thrice round the pin
They drew the brace on both sides, made it fast
With even knots, and tuck'd the dangling ends.—*Il.* xxiv. 340.

stood by the accompanying engraving better than by the most laboured description.

They were distributed over a wide space of the chest to render the pressure more easy ; the lowest was furnished with a row of fringe-tassels. Two straps passed under the breast, behind the fore-legs, to keep the others in their place, and one of these had a ring at the top, through which the rein passed. A large disk, carved, and furnished with several diverging tassels (usually three series of three each), hung behind the shoulder. The whole array of straps and bands was elegantly embossed.

In the time of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, the apparatus of draught was greatly simplified ; consisting of one or two chest-straps, with two or more rows of tassels ; the shoulder ornament was very large, and the disk sometimes triangular.

In general this was the whole of the trappings of a chariot-horse ; but sometimes (as in a Nimroud sculpture) the whole neck and body were clothed with embroidered housings, reaching nearly as low as the belly, under which they were fastened by a double crossed belt, and a similar double belt passed round the breech. This example was that of a chariot carrying warriors of rank, but not the king.

The tail was always long, as was generally the mane. The former was commonly bound tightly round, near the middle, with a broad ribbon, or with a cord passed many times round in close series. Sometimes the end of the tail, made taper, was turned up to form a loop, and bound round. Both

fashions were adopted at all periods ; the former the more commonly.*

Of the materials used for the various parts of this elaborate harness, we can say little. It is probable that, as with us, leather was employed for the straps and belts, metal of some kind for the bit, rings, buttons, &c., and perhaps worsted for the fringes and tassels. The remains of paint on the Khorsabad bas-reliefs enable us to see that the tassels of the shoulderlet, of the chest-strap, and of the triple tuft-crown, were sometimes all blue, sometimes blue and red alternately. These tassels may have been made of narrow bands of thin coloured leather, cut into slender strips along one edge, and then rolled up. The thick *ampyx*, we think, was certainly of metal ; and as the scales were coloured alternately red and blue, it may have been of steel, inlaid with bronze (or gold). The bit was commonly, perhaps, of bronze or iron, sometimes of silver or gold† em-

* The inhabitants of Cabool tie a knot in the tail of their horses.—Burnes' *Bokhara*, i. 126.

† Virgil speaks of golden bits ; and his description may in other points be compared with the above :—

The swift-paced steeds
With purple cloths and painted tapestries clad.
Collars and chains of chased gold hung down
Their arching necks ; gold covered all their heads ;
While ruddy gold their teeth impatient clasp'd.

Æn. vii. 277.

Astyages gave Cyrus a horse with a bridle of gold (*Cyrop.* i.) ; and chariots with bridles of gold are enumerated as desirable things by the author of the Book of Esdras (*iii.* 6). Masistius, a captain of horse in the Persian invasion of Greece, used a golden bit (*Herod.* ix. 20). The

bossed, or even set with jewels, like those alluded to by Claudian.* At all events necklaces of gems were hung around their necks, reminding us of the chains with which the Midianite kings adorned their camels in the days of Gideon (Judg. viii. 26). The gorgeous housings were probably the same as those which formed the staple of Dedan's commerce in the markets of Tyre.

Dedan was thy merchant in precious clothes for chariots. Ezek. xxvii. 20.

The words rendered "precious clothes" literally are "clothes of *freedom*," and may allude to the loose unconfining manner in which horse-trappings were thrown over the body. The word "chariots" is indefinite, and may apply as well to horses, horsemen, or charioteers.†

The head-gear of the riding-horse did not differ materially from that of the chariot-steed. But instead of the collars and straps that belonged to the yoke, a large crescent-shaped collar, considerably wider in the front than behind, hung loosely around the neck, descending on the chest. It was much decorated, either embroidered or embossed, and furnished with large tassels at its bottom. The rider rarely used any saddle in the earlier periods, but the royal horse was covered with a square fringed cloth that came half way down the sides, and a square saddle-cloth richly embroidered and fringed was over

kheiat or intreatment of honour granted by the kings of Persia at this day includes in its highest form a horse with a golden bridle.

* Epigr. 34, 36.

† Dr. Kitto, *in loc.*

all. This appears on a reserve-horse led by an attendant after the king hunting in his chariot. A short bridle of platted thongs or wreathen chains,



RIDING-HORSE GEAR (*Nimroud*).

analogous to the $\psiαλίον$ of the Greeks, was sometimes attached to the bit of a riding-horse, and was used for leading, as well as for guiding; in the latter case, the rider grasped it beside the beast's neck.

The whip was always short; in the earlier era it was a short staff, with a ring of plaited thongs at the end, to which was attached a single lash of apparently a single thong. At Khorsabad there was no

plaited ring, but the lash was directly connected with the staff; it was generally thick in the middle, as with us, but in a greater degree; it terminated in one, two, or even three tips. A double lashed whip appears in the sculptures of Xanthus.

Saddle-cloths had come into common use in the later eras; in both the Khorsabad and Kouyunjik sculptures we see the horsemen seated on a cloth with



SADDLE CLOTH (*Khorsabad*).

prolonged corners, generally ending in a tassel, but sometimes cut into three or four points, recalling the idea of a wild beast's skin with the paws attached, in which it no doubt originated. Large square

saddle-cloths are represented on the reserve-horses at Kouyunjik, without any housings. Saddle-cloths of the former shape are now extensively used in the East, made of velvet or fine woollen cloth, elaborately embroidered at the edges and corners with gold and silver thread.

"The horses of the Assyrians," as Mr. Layard observes, "were well formed, and apparently of noble blood. No one can look at the horses of the early Assyrian sculptures without being convinced that they were drawn from the finest models. The head is small and well-shaped, the nostrils large and high, the neck arched, the body long, and the legs slender and sinewy."* The spirit, martial courage, and fleetness of the Chaldean war-horses, and the extent to which they were employed in battle, are alluded to by the prophet.

Their horses also are swifter than the leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves: and their horsemen shall spread themselves, and their horsemen shall come from far; they shall fly as the eagle that hasteth to eat. Hab. i. 8.

Cavalry, however, seems to have been but little used until the latest period of the empire. A small band of mounted archers was sometimes employed in the early time, clothed in helmet and cuirass, and riding without either saddle or stirrups; and, strange to say, the archer having both hands engaged, was accompanied by another horseman, who riding by his side, held the reins both of his fellow's steed and of his own. Cavalry was used for pursuit of a flying foe; a horseman is represented pursuing, with

* Nineveh and its Remains, ii. 359.

extended spear, an enemy mounted on a slender dromedary. The Assyrian pursuer has a saddle-cloth, but no stirrups, nor even a bridle.*

We are tempted to think in this case that the sculptor has omitted the bridle from oversight. But it may be that the Assyrian horseman was able to ride and govern his steed without one, like the *desultor* or equestrian performer of Numidia, who rode two horses alternately, without any bridle, guiding them merely by the whip. The Scythians, Armenians, and Indians also practised this art, which was not unknown to the Greeks (see *Il.* xv. 801). Megasthenes, indeed, asserts that the Indian soldiers were accustomed to ride without bridles.†

In the Khorsabad battle-scenes mounted troops are more common. Heavy-armed horse accompanied the royal chariot, always furnished with bow and quiver in addition to their other weapons.

But it is in the sculptures of the Kouyunjik palace that cavalry occurs most numerously. Long lines of horse, well accoutred with helm and corslet, spear and sword, and sometimes with bow and quiver in addition, are represented as accompanying the king in those expeditions into forest-covered mountainous regions, which seem to have been so characteristic of the reign of Sennacherib.

The main reliance was upon the foot-soldiers; and

* The mode of fighting practised by the Lydians was on horseback; they were armed with long spears, and managed their steeds with great address. But their horses could not endure the sight of a camel. Herod. i. 79, 80.

† Cory's *Anc. Frag.* 232. Ed. 1832

these, like the mounted corps, comprised archers and spear-men. Whether sappers and miners constituted a distinct body, we know not; most probably these offices were undertaken by individuals selected from the common ranks. Artillery men, who worked the mighty and ponderous engines, and who planted and mounted scaling-ladders, were also, of course, foot-soldiers. The infantry in the later periods marched before the chariots, as the cavalry followed them. Their weapons were the bow and quiver, the sword, the spear, and the mace; their defensive armour the helmet, the cuirass, or the complete suit of mail, the round buckler, and the large target. These arms, which were not equally distributed to all the ranks, we now proceed to describe.

The bow has always been considered eminently characteristic of Asiatic warfare, and its prominence in the battle scenes of Assyria fully bears out what has been handed down to us from classic antiquity. Archers seem to have played the principal part in Assyrian warfare, and to have served not only on foot, but on horseback and in chariots.

The form of the bow was simple, consisting of a single arch, with the points slightly recurved; it was slender, commonly tapering to each extremity, and highly elastic, for when drawn, it formed a semi-ellipse. In some sculptures found at Khorsabad the bows were coloured red; which probably indicated that they were made of bronze.* And this agrees

* Archæologists now divide antiquity into three periods, which they respectively distinguish, from the material chiefly employed for weapons,

with those passages of Scripture, as 2 Sam. xxii. 35; Job xx. 24; and Ps. xviii. 35, in which a "bow of steel" is spoken of; for the word נַחֲוֹשֶׁה, *nachooolah*, rendered *steel* in these passages, elsewhere signifies brass (or rather bronze, a compound of copper and tin), and is so rendered. Homer describes the bow of Pandarus as made of two goats' horns,—

his polished bow,
The horn of a salacious mountain goat.
Full sixteen palms his measured length of horn
Had spired aloft; the bow-smith, root to root,
Adapted each, shaved smooth the wrinkled rind,
Then polished all, and tipped the points with gold."

Iliad, iv. 110.

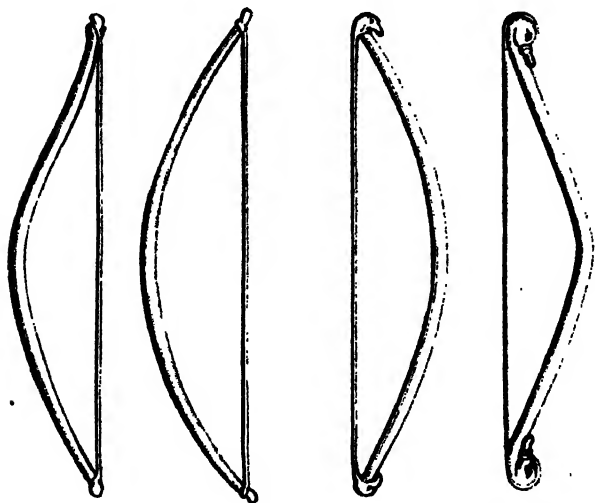
The union of the two roots he speaks of, would however require great skill in the artisan to make the weapon effective. The Assyrian bows when undrawn, but *strung* (as they are invariably represented), frequently formed an obtuse angle in the middle, rather than a curve, as if constructed of two pieces united. There was much diversity in the comparative elegance of their shape.

The bow-string formed a loop at each end, probably a thong of raw hide* so cut, and the extremities of the bow being knobbed had a notch on the upper

* the era of stone, of bronze, and of iron; a system of nomenclature first suggested by Thomsen, the founder of the famous Archaeological Museum of Copenhagen. We doubt, however, whether it is applicable to Oriental archæology; we have no reason to believe that ever stone implements were generally used in the primeval seats of the human family; and bronze and iron were certainly used contemporaneously by both Egypt and Assyria.

* *Nāgha Bān*, *Il.* iv. 122.

side, into which the loop was slipped over the end. The ends of the bow were sometimes recurved more or less ; and sometimes were fashioned into the head

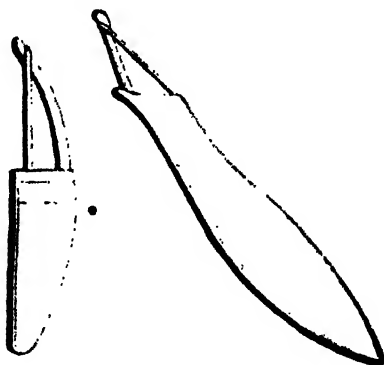


BOWS.

of an eagle. In the later period the head of a duck was the favourite form, the beak laid upon the outer edge, and pointing towards the centre of the bow.

The string was drawn not to the ear, according to the custom of the Egyptians and our own forefathers, nor to the breast, in the ineffective manner practised by the early Greeks, but intermediately, to the right shoulder. When not in actual use the weapon was slung over the shoulder, the arm being passed within the string.

A bow-case was occasionally (but very rarely) used, from the earliest to the latest period; for it occurs on a horseman in a hunting scene from the north-west palace at Nimroud, and on two occasions at Kouyunjik, worn both by horse and foot soldiers in mountain forests, where perhaps the humidity of the air was hurtful to the bow-string. In both scenes, however, out of many who carry bows, one or two only carry a bow-case. It was worn behind the left shoulder, and covered only about half of the bow, which it exactly fitted, the rest of the implement projecting from its top. It was probably made of leather, embossed and gilded.



The bow of Ulysses made, like that of Pandarus, of "polished horn," was kept in a bow-case.

With lifted hand she lower'd from its hold
The bow within its glittering case secured ;

Then, sitting there, she laid it on her knees,
Weeping aloud, and drew it from the case.

Odys. xxi. 61.

The arrows seem to have been about equal in length to the "cloth-yard shafts" of our Saxon forefathers. What their material was we do not certainly know: Mr. Layard suggests that they were reeds; but at Khorsabad they are painted red, like the bows, with lance-heads of blue, which may indicate a copper or bronze shaft tipped with steel.

The heel being dilated to form the notch, as seen in the spirited hunting scene in the British Museum, in which the lion is gnawing his leg in agony,—would indicate that the shaft was not formed of reed nor of wood, unless a notched button of harder material, as metal or ivory, were attached to it; for the twanging of the string would soon break off the sides of the crescentic *γλῶφίς*.*

Several allusions in Scripture indicate that arrows were sometimes made of polished metal.†

In the shadow of his hand hath he hid me, and made me a *polished shaft*; in his quiver hath he hid me. *Isa.* xlix. 2.

Make *bright* the arrows. *Jer.* li. 11.

For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination: *he made his arrows bright*. *Ezek.* xxi. 21.

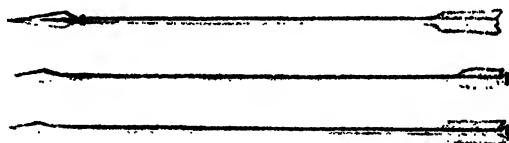
At the *light of thine arrows* they went, and at the shining of thy glittering spear. *Hab.* iii. 11.

His arrow shall go forth as the lightning. *Zech.* ix. 14.

* In the Great Exhibition are arrows taken from the Sikhs in the late war, in which the shaft is of reed, the point of steel, and the *γλῶφίς* of ivory; the form of this last is much like that of the Assyrian.

† Compare also the "arrows bright as the sun," of the *Ramāyana*, i. § 1.

The ancient Greeks commonly used a shaft formed of a reed, or sometimes of light wood, polished; with a head of bronze, as Homer abundantly shows. The head was sometimes made of flint; and several such were found by Mr. Dodwell on the plain of Marathon, which he concludes belonged to the Persian army.* Sir G. Wilkinson states, however, that flint arrow-heads have been found in parts of Greece, never visited by the Persian forces.† In the vicinity of Persepolis many have been ploughed up, made of iron, and of copper or bronze; the latter, of a three-edged form, apparently the more ancient.‡ An arrow-head of iron plays an important part in the ancient Hindoo epic, the Mahâbhârata.



ARROWS.

The Assyrian arrows were winged with the vanes of feathers, attached one on each side a little above the notch, and trimmed symmetrically. The feathers of large birds were alone suitable for this purpose. Hesiod represents the arrows of Hercules as feathered from the quills of a black eagle.

Whether poisoned arrows were used by the Assyrians we have no evidence; the Greeks and Romans

* Tour through Greece, ii. 159.

† Manners of the Ancient Egyptians, i. 310.

‡ Morier's Second Journey, 88.

considered them as indicative of a barbarous warfare, unworthy of civilized armies.* Several Asiatic nations used them, as the Saurometæ, Getæ, Scythians, and Arabs. Job, who is supposed to have been an Arab, distinctly alludes to the practice.

For the arrows of the Almighty are within me, the poison whereof drinketh up my spirit. Job vi. 4.

Each warrior carried a sheaf of arrows in a quiver suspended across his back, but he seems to have usually drawn out three at a time, for he is commonly represented with two held in the fingers of the right hand, while the third is on the string which he draws to his shoulder. Sometimes an cunuch and a warrior are figured as comrades, one of whom is the archer, and the other bears the reserve-arrows, together with a shield. The archers frequently knelt on one knee to shoot.

The quiver was a cylindrical case, which received the arrows up to the commencement of the feather. It was worn anciently beneath the left arm, in a diagonal direction, suspended by a belt passing over the left shoulder, and fastened to two rings in its side. The surface was frequently embossed or

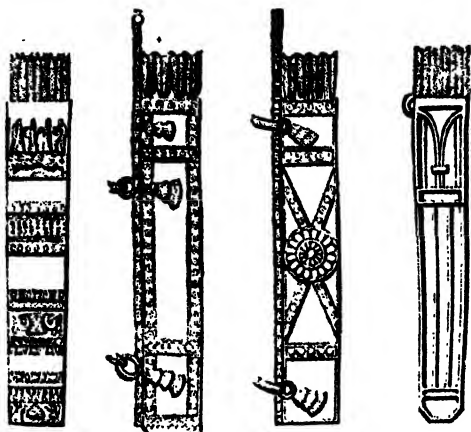
* Homer describes Ulysses as using them ; but records the disrepute in which the practice was held.

For thither also had Ulysses gone
In his swift bark, seeking some poisonous drug,
Wherewith to taint his brazen arrows keen,
Which drug, through fear of the eternal gods
Hus refused.

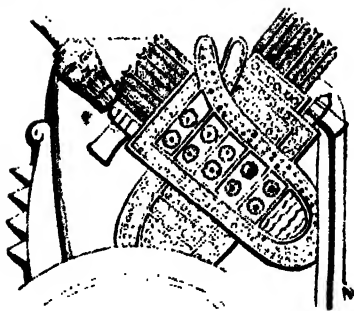
Odys. i. 319.

The Institutes of Menu also condemn their use in battle (vii. 90).

painted; those appropriated to the king often most elaborately, with mythological subjects; those of



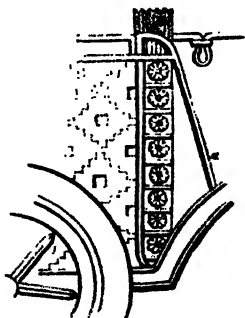
QUIVERS.



CHARIOT-QUIVERS.

the officers with concentric lines and elegant patterns.

Two large quivers were commonly attached to the side of the chariot (perhaps to *each* side, for they are shown when the vehicle is going either way), hung in such a mode as to cross each other; besides a sheaf of arrows, each of these generally carried an axe, sometimes, however, replaced, and sometimes accompanied, by a bow or a short javelin. The opposite side of the quiver to that so occupied was elevated into a sort of car. In the later periods, when the square chariot was used, the quiver was a simple arrow-case, and was affixed, perpendicularly, to the front; the crossed side-quivers, with their bows and axes, being very rarely seen. At this time the quiver was sometimes furnished with a sort of flexible cap,* terminating in a series of pendent tassels.



KHORSABAD QUIVER.

The Egyptian war-chariot was in like manner furnished with two large cases on each side, similarly

* His quiver's lid displaced, he chose a dart.

placed across each other, one of which carried a copious supply of arrows and two or three spears, the other was appropriated to the bow.

In the figure of one of the attendant eunuchs behind the king at Khorsabad, the quiver is suspended in a peculiar manner. As far as it can be understood, it seems that a broad belt, probably of leather, passed obliquely round the body from the breast to the loins. To one side of this the quiver was attached, or rather perhaps one side of it was made to form the quiver, and the whole was suspended by chains passing over the shoulders, and inserted in rings before and behind. The quiver and the encircling belt were ornamented with one continuous pattern.*

The belts which were worn by the ancient Greeks were of leather, often stained, and ornamented with gold, silver, and precious stones, like those which we have already alluded to as depicted at Khorsabad. Mythological and other scenes were also embroidered or embossed upon them, which was likewise an Assyrian custom.

In close combat the warrior laid aside the use of the bow, which, as before said, he then slung over his shoulder, and employed the spear. Both cavalry and infantry are represented as using this weapon, which was commonly of about the same length as the warrior himself. It consisted of a slender shaft, probably of hard wood (from the use to which we see it sometimes applied), slightly dilated at the

* Virgil speaks of the Amazonian quiver as embraced by a wide belt of gold, and fastened by a button made of a polished gem. *Æneid* v. 12.

butt, and of a lozenge-shaped head, apparently of steel.

The spears of the Trojan war were ashen poles with bronze heads (*δόρυ χαλκήρες*); iron, however, was afterwards used. An iron spear-head, found at Nimroud, is in the British Museum. Goliath's spear-head was of iron. When the warriors fought in pairs, the shield-bearer frequently carried a short spear not more than half the ordinary length. It is difficult to understand how the long spear could have been effectively used if actually held as represented in the Khorsabad sculptures, close to the butt; for almost the whole of the weight, including the head of metal, being in front of the hand, would seem to render it impracticable so to wield it.

In the earlier sculptures the spear is figured as pointed at the butt, doubtless for the purpose of planting it in the ground; a custom noticed both by inspired and profane authors.

So David and Abishai came to the people by night: and, behold, Saul lay sleeping within the trench; and his spear stuck in the ground at his bolster: but Abner and the people lay round about him. 1 Sam. xxvi. 7.

In Homer, when Nestor and Ulysses visit the sleeping Diomede, we are presented with a picture almost identically the same.

Him sleeping arm'd before his tent they found
Amidst his sleeping followers; with their shields
Beneath their heads they lay; and, at the side
Of each, stood planted in the soil his spear
On its inverted end; their polish'd heads
All glitter'd like Jove's lightning from afar.

H. x. 17b.

This end could sometimes be used with fatal effect to strike a pursuer, without turning the spear or the person. It was in this manner that the swift-footed Asahel met his fate.

And Asahel pursued after Abner ; and in going he turned not to the right hand nor to the left from following Abner. Then Abner looked behind him, and said, Art thou Asahel ? And he answered, I am. And Abner said to him, Turn thee aside to thy right hand or to thy left, and lay thee hold on one of the young men, and take thee his armour. But Asahel would not turn aside from following of him. And Abner said again to Asahel, Turn thee aside from following me : wherefore should I smite thee to the ground ? how then should I hold up my face to Joab thy brother ? Howbeit he refused to turn aside : wherefore Abner with the hinder end of the spear smote him under the fifth rib, that the spear came out behind him ; and he fell down there, and died in the same place. 2 Sam. ii. 19—23.

So at the present day a pursued Arab continually thrusts his lance backward to prevent the approach of the pursuer's mare, and sometimes kills either the pursuer or his mare, by dexterously throwing the point of his lance behind, which is armed with an iron spike.*

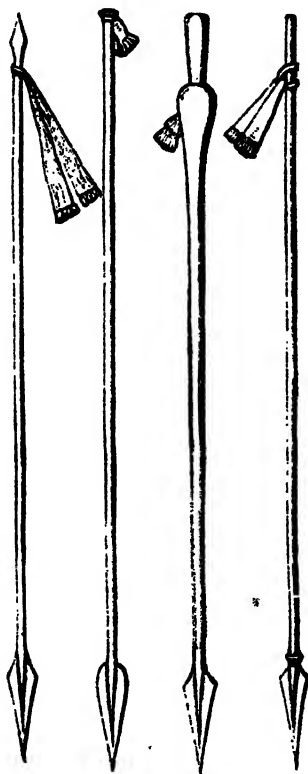
The lances of ancient Persia had, instead of a spike, an ornament at the butt, resembling a pomegranate, gilt or silvered.†

The Assyrian spear was frequently adorned with a little pennon, or two, attached to a ring near the head. Perhaps it was thus rendered more conspicuous, if used as a signal. Abarbanel and the other rabbins say that there was a streamer at the end of Joshua's spear, when he stretched it out to the ambush behind Ai (Josh. viii. 18). It was used to

* Kitto's Pict. Bible, i. 616.

† Herod. vii. 41.

thrust, but appears not to have been thrown. The smaller javelin, however, which differed in appear-



SPEARS.

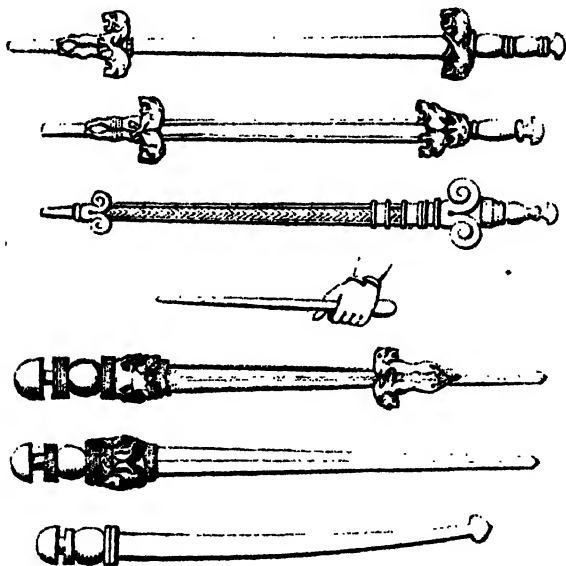
ance from the spear only by its smaller dimensions and slighter make, was probably used as a missile. Homer's heroes seem indifferently to have thrown

their spears and recovered them again, or to have thrust with them as pikes; and the javelin, which Saul so repeatedly cast at David (1 Sam. xviii. xix. xx.), is indicated by the same word, **חנית**, as the spear which stood in the ground at his bolster. The "darts" of which Joab took three in his hand, and which he thrust through the heart of Absalom (2 Sam. xviii. 14), are indicated by a very different word, and seem to have been slender pointed rods of metal.

The early form of the Assyrian war-chariot had a socket at the back part, in which the spear butt was fixed, the head pointing obliquely upwards. Sometimes the rear spear was replaced by a staff having a *fleur-de-lis* instead of the usual lozenge-shaped head.

No weapon seems to have been more indispensable than the sword. It was almost invariably worn by the king and by his eunuchs and officers of state, in peace as well as in war. Its place was on the left side, as among the Hebrews (see Judg. iii. 15—21) and the classic ancients, and not, like that of the *acinaces* of the Persians, on the right. The right hand, therefore, being stretched across the breast, grasped the hilt, in the act of drawing, with the thumb next the blade, just as with us, as is shown in a sculpture from Khorsabad. The scabbard appears to have passed through a sort of pocket in the dress, as will be hereafter explained, from which it projected at both extremities, yet being made so fast, as that the left hand was not needed to steady it when the weapon was drawn.

Its position was rather high, the hilt being level with the breast; anciently it was worn with the point sloping downwards and backwards, but at the time of Khorsabad, it had become customary to give it a perfectly horizontal direction, just level with the elbow, so that the left hand frequently rested on the hilt in conversation. With the Hebrews the position of the girded sword appears to have been



in general much lower, agreeing with the mode adopted by the Greeks and Romans, as will be seen by the following passages.

Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty. Ps. xlv. 3.

They all hold swords, being expert in war; every man hath his sword upon his thigh, because of fear in the night. Cant. iii. 8.

Like almost all the swords of ancient nations, that of the Assyrian warrior was straight, sharp-pointed, and two-edged; its breadth was considerable, and continued nearly equal from the hilt almost to the point. That this was the form of the Hebrew sword appears from allusions to two-edged swords in Ps. cxlix. 6, and in Prov. v. 4; from the numerous passages that speak of the edge of the sword, of whetting and sharpening it, and of Goliath's head having been cut off with his sword; and, finally from those that speak of falling on the sword, as Saul did, and of thrusting through with it. We see it used in both these modes in the Assyrian sculptures; the warriors are represented cutting off the heads of their enemies with it, at one time, and at another holding it in act to thrust; the king, in hunting the wild bull, skilfully inserts the point of his sword into the spine just behind the skull, and divides the vertebræ, with the coolness and skill of a modern Spanish *torero*. In some bas-reliefs from Kouyunjik, the soldiers are represented as slaughtering and cutting up sheep with their swords, using them as knives.

Both the sword and spear were sometimes put to a curious use, that of picking out the cement which united the stones of a fortress, that so a breach might be opened in the wall. The flat of the sword was sometimes employed to strike with, when the

object was to punish without wounding; as to insult, or perhaps to quicken, a captive.

The ordinary length of this weapon was about thirty inches, including the hilt; it rarely extended to three feet, with the scabbard, which probably was a few inches longer than the blade. No evidence exists, that we know of, as to the material of which the blade was composed; but analogy suggests that bronze, or iron, or perhaps both, were employed. The sword of Achilles, Homer represents as made of the former material. Specimens of very ancient swords have been dug up in Ireland and Cornwall, whither the Phœnicians are known to have resorted, and are supposed to have belonged to that people. Their form very closely agrees with that of the Assyrian sword represented in the sculptures. They consist of almost pure copper; and they answer the question which will naturally occur to our minds, when we read of copper being so much used for cutlery in remote antiquity,—How could it have been rendered sufficiently hard to take and maintain the required keenness? “Tempering seems to have been the means most commonly used. The ancient writers themselves say this; and the observations which have been made on Greek and Roman antiquities, seem to confirm this account. The Irish weapons were assayed by Mr. Alchorn, who says, ‘the metal appears to me to be chiefly copper, interspersed with particles of iron, and perhaps some zinc, but without containing either gold or silver; it seems probable, that the metal was cast in its present state, and afterwards reduced to its proper figure by filing. The

iron might either be obtained with the copper from the ore, or added afterwards in the fusion, to give the necessary rigidity of a weapon. But I confess myself unable to determine anything with certainty.' (Archæologia, iii. 355.) Governor Pownall in the same paper, says of this metal, that it is of *a temper which carries a sharp edge*, and is in a great degree *firm and elastic*, and very heavy. *It does not rust, and takes a fine polish.* He indeed thinks it *superior to iron* for its purpose, until the art of tempering steel was brought to a considerable degree of perfection. It is probably on account of this perfection to which the preparation of copper had been brought in consequence of the want of iron, that it continued to be preferred long after the art of working iron had been acquired."*

Sir G. Wilkinson, speaking of the ancient Egyptian swords, whose blades were of bronze, says that so exquisitely was the metal worked, that some of those he has examined retain their pliability and spring after a period of several thousand years, and almost resemble steel in elasticity.†

The hilt of the Assyrian sword was probably made of ivory, or hard ornamental wood; it was tastefully carved in a manner resembling modern turning, with a semiglobular top. Those appropriated to the royal use were often adorned with four lions' heads at the part where the hilt was united to the blade. They do not appear to have had a cross-bar, or any protection for the hand.

Much taste was displayed in the adornment of the

* Kitto's Pict. Bible, i. 412.

† Anc. Egyptians, i. 320.

scabbard ; it was sometimes beautifully embossed, or in some other way decorated, with minute but elaborate designs of human figures, mythological scenes, animals, flowers, or arbitrary devices and patterns. The royal scabbard was commonly embraced near the tip by two rampant lions, with everted heads. What its material was we know not, probably leather, stained, embossed, and gilded. Homer speaks of sheaths of silver, and others plated with ivory ; an ancient one figured in the " Museo Borbonico," (v. pl. 39,) is of wood, covered with plates of metal, and studded with bronze.

The facts we have mentioned above, of the height at which the scabbard was worn, its horizontal direction, and especially its being fixed in the girdle, instead of being suspended from it, may illustrate what is said of Joab's sword *falling out* of its sheath, when he was about to kill Amasa ; an accident which could hardly have been possible had it hung loosely like a modern sword, or had the point been downward.

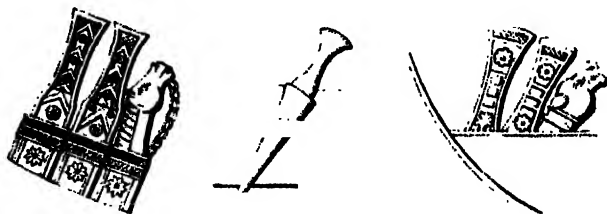
And Joab's garment that he had put on was girded unto him, and upon it a girdle with a sword fastened upon his loins in the sheath thereof; and as he went forth it fell out. 2 Sam. xx. 8.

The sword in this case, it will be observed, was not, as usual with the Hebrews, on the thigh, but "fastened upon his *loins*," that is, *the side* (מתנים), the place where the ink-horn of a writer would be (see Ezek. ix. 2, 3, 11, *Heb.*), and consequently agreeing exactly with the position assigned to the weapon in the sculptures of Khorsabad.

The scabbard was sometimes supported by a belt

passing over the right shoulder. In the early era this was narrow and plain; it is represented (Lay. pl. 24) as taking one or two turns round the scabbard, and then passing round the waist. In the Khorsabad era it was broader, and ornamented with rows of pearls as already described. (See p. 158 *ante*).*

The use of the dagger was common at the remoter era; but seems afterwards to have fallen into dis-



use. Two or three were usually carried by the king, his officers and priests, and even by priestesses.† The hilt was formed like a modern dice-box, elaborately carved; but when there were three, two only were of this form, and the third was fashioned into the head of a horse or calf. The sheath was commonly pointed, but sometimes terminated in a calf's head, with a tassel hanging from its mouth. All three were stuck in the girdle, diagonally across the breast, the hilts pointing towards the right shoulder, so that the right hand could readily draw

* The belts worn by the Greeks and Romans were of leather, frequently ornamented with gold, silver, and precious stones, and sometimes were embroidered or embossed. Smith's *Antiq.*, art. *DALTEUS*.

† Layard, Pl. vii.

them.* The Romans carried the dagger on the right side, and drew it in the same way; the reason for the different mode of drawing the sword and the dagger being, obviously, that the blow given in stabbing with the latter is either downward, or what is called back-handed.

The classical dagger (*pugio*) was a two-edged knife, commonly of bronze, with an ornamented hilt, sometimes made of the hard black wood of the Syrian terebinth. Egyptian daggers have been found, the handles of which are highly ornamented; one in the Leyden Museum, much like the Assyrian in form, about a foot in length, has a handle of wood, thickly gilt; that of another, in the Berlin collection, from a tomb at Thebes, is composed of bone, partly covered with metal, and adorned with pins and studs of gold; and Mr. Layard mentions that several handles of ivory, carved in the shape of the fore-part of bulls and other animals, were found in the tomb of an ivory-worker at Memphis. It is highly probable that the Assyrian daggers were formed of similar materials, and adorned, according to the custom still common in the East, with precious stones and gold. One was found in the buried palace at Nimroud, resembling those of the sculptures in form; it is of copper; the handle is hollowed, either to receive precious stones, ivory, or enamel.†

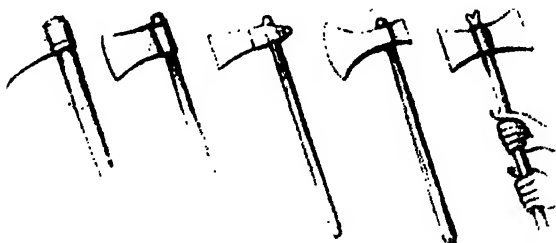
A curved falchion, somewhat resembling in form *

* In the engraving the artist has inadvertently drawn the daggers as if on the left side, by mistake.

† Nineveh and its Remains, ii. 343.

the ancient Egyptian Khopsh, is twice represented in the sculptures at Khorsabad; but it is on each occasion in the girdle of an enemy, and both evidently of the same nation.

Notwithstanding that the use of the axe as a weapon of war was considered by the ancients as characteristic of the Asiatic nations,* no example of its employment in battle occurs in the Assyrian sculptures, whether early or late. Yet, as we have before stated, it was almost invariably carried in the chariot-quiver, both to battle and to the chase. We see it in the hands of warriors, employed in cutting down the trees of a forest, and on another occasion used to chop to pieces a statue (?) after the assault of a fortress. It also appears in the hand of the idol Belus carried in procession.



Its most common form was single, sometimes with, sometimes without, a projecting heel; in the forest-work of the pioneers both single and double axes (*bipennes*) were used. The structure was much more effective than that of the Egyptian axe, in

* "*Securigenæ catervæ.*"—Val. Flacc.

which the metal-head was inserted into the split handle of wood, and bound tight with thongs; for the Assyrian axe-head, like that of modern times, was made to embrace the handle, which passed through it. Doubtless bronze or iron, if not both, was the material of which it was made.

The axe was familiar to the Hebrews, but only as an implement of the useful arts; though Jeremiah alludes to it (xlvi. 22) as employed in war by the Babylonians, and Jehovah figuratively calls Nebuchadnezzar his battle-axe (Jer. li. 20). The following passages show that its material was iron, but they do not determine the mode of attachment of the head.

As when a man goeth into the wood with his neighbour to hew wood, and his hand fetcheth a stroke with the axe to cut down the tree, and the head slippeth from the helve, and lighteth upon his neighbour, that he die; he shall flee unto one of those cities and live. Deut. xix. 5.

But as one was felling a beam, the axe head fell into the water: and he cried, and said, Alas, master! for it was borrowed. And the man of God said, Where fell it? And he shewed him the place. And he cut down a stick, and cast it in thither; and the iron did swim. 2 Kings vi. 5. 6.

Another weapon was the short club or mace, which appears to have been a stout gnarled piece of wood, enlarged and roughened with knots at the end, and small at the handle, which was carved into the head of a lion or other wild beast.* We sometimes see

* The implement represented in Botta, pl. 13, as carried by an attendant eunuch behind the king is not a club, but a fly-whisk, disguised by the partial defacement of the sculpture. The former is, however, elsewhere seen in the hand of a warrior, driving away captives, in such a position as implies that it was freely used to repress their complaints, or to quicken

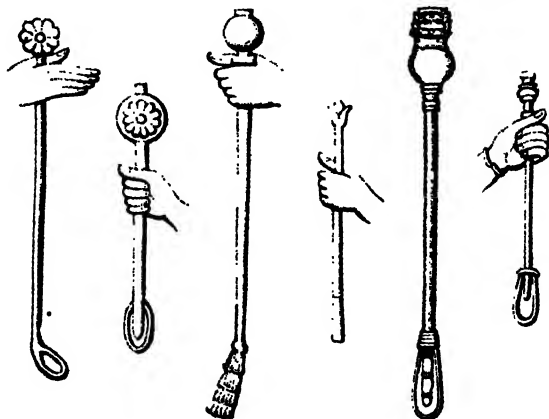
an implement carried in the hand, shaped much like this, with the handle formed into the head of a calf, but apparently made of some flexible materials, like the *life-preservers* of modern times, of plaited cord, or thongs.

A much more usual form of the mace consisted of a cylindrical stem, to which was attached at one end a loop or thong, into which the handle descended, and formed at the other into a massive head, sometimes surmounted by a fantastic ornament, consisting of four lions' heads united into one. It is commonly seen borne by attendants behind the king. It was not, however, confined to the sovereign, but was used by the warriors in battle, as well as in hunting. Sometimes the lower part of the handle was grasped, and the heavy end was allowed to rest against the shoulder, but by far the most common mode of carrying it was with the hand just below the massive head, which would be of course less fatiguing than any other. It seems never to have been carried by the loop.

The head was doubtless made of metal; in some cases it was probably a globe, but more usually it seems to have been a circular disk, carved into a rosette. In later times this normal form seems to have been less constant, for at Kouyunjik one is represented which has a lotus flower for a head; and at Khorsabad the head of one is made up of several fillets and globose mouldings as if turned in a lathe.

their pace; and Herodotus describes the Assyrians in Xerxes' army as carrying with shields, spears, and daggers, "wooden clubs knotted with iron."—Herod. vii. 63.

There occurs also an ancient deviation from the usual form in Layard (pl. 38), in which the butt is armed with a rosette-disk, and the head is a ball; it is in the hand of a priest. The implement varied in length from two to three feet.



MACES.

The Egyptians commonly used a mace almost identical with the Assyrian; consisting of a staff surmounted with a disk or ball of metal, and furnished with a little hook (instead of a thong) at the butt, to prevent its slipping from the hand.

Feridoon, one of the earliest of the kings of Persia whose names tradition has preserved, is said to have used an iron mace as his weapon in battle. It was ornamented with a cow's head; and was hence called the *gurz-gowesir*, or the club with the cow's head.*

* Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, i. 19.

The mace (*gurr*) frequently appears in early Persian history.

Homer makes one of his heroes to be surnamed Corynetes, from *κορυμή*, a mace,—

For that he combated and burst his way
Through the firm phalanx, arm'd with neither bow
Nor quiv'ring spear, *but with an iron mace.*

Il. vii. 143.

The use of such a weapon, however, was evidently a matter of wonder.

Repeated mention of the iron mace, as a weapon of war, occurs in the Institutes of Menu (viii. 315; xi. 101) many centuries before our era.

The power of the Medes and Babylonians coming against Nineveh is poetically designated by Nahum (ii. 1), "the dasher in pieces," or (as in the margin) "the disperser, or hammer," a cognate word with that applied (Jer. li. 20) to Nebuchadnezzar, "the battle-axe," not improbably both alluding to this characteristic Assyrian weapon.

The sling, so potent an arm among the Hebrews from their infancy as a nation (Judg. xx. 16), and used by the ancient Egyptians, never appears in the early Assyrian sculptures as a national weapon, and only once in the hand of an enemy. This exception (Layard, pl. 29)—which occurs on a slab from the S.W. palace, interesting as being the first bas-relief discovered at Nimroud,—is that of a warrior in a besieged fortress, who prepares his sling with his left thumb, probably pressing down the stone into it.

“ In the bas-reliefs of Kouyunjik slingers are frequently represented among the Assyrian troops. The sling appears to have consisted of a double rope, with a thong, probably of leather, to receive the stone; it was swung round the head. The slinger held a second stone in his left hand, and at his feet is generally seen a heap of pebbles ready for use.”* David, it will be remembered, chose five smooth stones out of the brook, which he placed in a shepherd's bag, as a reserve in case the first should fail, when he assailed the proud Philistine giant. It is remarkable that the sling is never mentioned in the *Iliad*. It is spoken of contemptuously by Xenophon as a weapon only fit for slaves.†

The throwing of stones by hand, though a much ruder practice than the use of the sling, was familiar both to the Assyrians and the enemies with whom they fought. The garrisons of besieged cities are continually represented as thus defending themselves, and Assyrian warriors from the top of the military engines cast stones at their enemies on the battlements. According to Diodorus Siculus (iii. 49) the Libyans carried no arms, but three spears and a bag of stones; and even the martial Romans were not ashamed to avail themselves of weapons so barbarous.

Homer's heroes frequently have recourse to stones as weapons; as, for example, Diomedes (*Il.* v. 332), Antilochus (651), Hector (vii. 269), and Ajax (273).

* Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii. 343.

† *Cyrop.* vii.

Such then were the weapons with which in ancient days the Assyrian warrior was furnished; and it is interesting to compare with these, and with his defensive armour presently to be described, the accoutrements of the martial race that now inhabit the same region, perhaps the lineal descendants of the old lords of the Asian world. "When a Koordish chief," says Colonel Kinneir, "takes the field, his equipment varies but little from that of the knights of the days of chivalry; and the Saracen who fought under the great Saladin, was probably armed in the very same manner as he who now makes war upon the Persians. His breast is defended by a *steel corslet inlaid with gold and silver*; whilst a small wooden *shield*, thickly *studded with brass nails*, is slung over his left shoulder when not in use. His lance is carried by his page or esquire, who is also mounted; a carbine is slung across his back; his pistols and *dagger* are *stuck in his girdle*; and a light scimitar hangs by his side. Attached to his saddle, on the right, is *a small case holding three darts*, each about two feet and a half in length; and on the left, at the saddle-bow, you perceive *a mace*, the most deadly of all his weapons. It is two feet and a half in length; sometimes embossed with gold, and at other times set with precious stones. The darts have steel points, about six inches long,

and a weighty piece of iron or lead at the upper part to give them velocity when thrown by the hand."

With one exception, the substitution of the carbine for the obsolete bow, we might almost fancy that the learned traveller had been describing one of the mounted chiefs who rode in the body-guard of Ninus or Shalmaneser.

W A R.

(CONTINUED.)

The Babylonians, and all the Chaldeans, Pekod, and Shoa, and Kon, and all the Assyrians with them: all of them desirable young men, captains and rulers, great lords and renowned, all of them riding upon horses. And they shall come against thee with chariots, waggons, and wheels, and with an assembly of people, which shall set against thee buckler, and shield, and helmet, round about. Ezek. xxiii. 23, 24.

THE use of some kind of *defensive* arms would doubtless suggest itself to the minds of men, almost as early as the introduction of offensive weapons, to prosecute the strife and slaughter which followed close upon the heels of the first sin. Abel, doubtless, fell an unresisting lamb before the murderous hand of his brother; but when the earth became "filled with violence" (Gen. vi. 11), the weaker would naturally seek some mode of protecting their persons from the blows of the stronger, in the perpetual conflict for mastery. The nature of defensive arms seems to have admitted less of variety in their form and structure than that of offensive; they may all be included under two heads, the shield and body-armour; both of which seem to have been known to ancient nations at least as far back as we

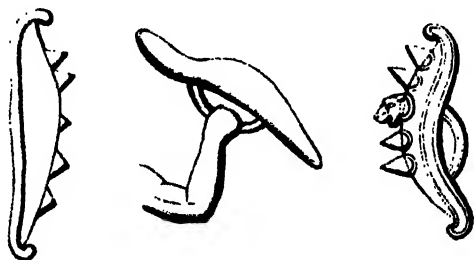
have any records or monuments of them. The earliest sculptures of Assyria exhibit both in high perfection.

The shield varied much in form, dimensions, and manner of use. A very ancient form was a circular frame of wood, hide, or metal, perfectly plain, with a central strap in the inside, which was grasped by the left hand. It was sometimes carried at the back (the hands being engaged in bearing the bow and the spear), apparently suspended by a long belt reaching from the shoulder to the loins (Layard, pl. 10), as were the Greek bucklers at the siege of Troy.* Perhaps the "target of brass," which Goliath wore "between his shoulders" (1 Sam. xvii. 6), was a buckler of this kind, especially as the same word is rendered in ver. 45, "a *shield*."

Of equal antiquity was a circular buckler, convex exteriorly, with the margin turned out, sometimes forming a scroll. This, in its simple form, was carried by foot-soldiers, by a loop or strap in the middle of the inner side; more commonly, however, it was studded on its exterior with thick conical bosses, set close together, either large and few, or small and numerous. In the former case they composed two or three concentric rows, surrounding a larger central one, which sometimes was made to assume the

* But Pallas flew to Diomede. She found
That princely warrior at his chariot-side
Cooling his wound inflicted by the shaft
Of Pandarus; for it had long endured
The chafe and sultry pressure of the belt
That bore his ample shield.

shape of a lion's head with open jaws. Probably this was used to strike and bruise an enemy who approached too near, though less effective than the spike which the Romans and Greeks sometimes affixed to the *ὀμφάλος*, or *umbo* of their circular bucklers. It was much used, but not exclusively, by chariot-warriors, and was hung, when not in use, at the back of the car.



These thick and sharp-pointed projections stud-
ding the face of the shield give a new force to the
figure of Eliphaz in the Book of Job, who speaks of
the daring impiety of the wicked man, as a "running
upon the thick bosses of the bucklers" of the Al-
mighty (Job xv. 26).

The bossed buckler was perhaps plated with
metal, and not improbably the bosses were of a
different metal from the general surface, as in the
shield of Agamemnon, which, in other respects
also, affords us interesting illustrations of the sub-
ject.

While these pages are in preparation, there are in

the collection of Indian arms in the Great Exhibition, several bossed shields, precisely similar in form to the most ancient Assyrian ones. That of which a front view is here given, is from Kota; it is of transparent, but very hard, deer-skin, with bosses



INDIAN BOSSSED SHIELD.

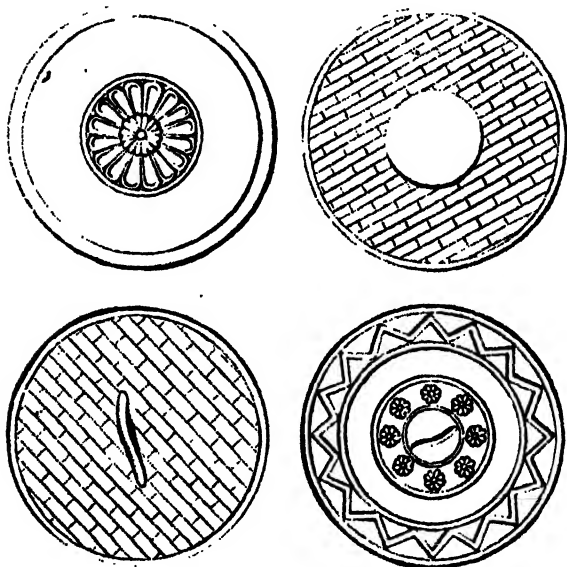
of yellow metal; the edge is recurved. The East India Company's Museum contains bossed shields from Abyssinia made of buffalo-hide; in some of these the bosses are formed by manipulation of the hide itself, in others they are of copper, riveted.

" His massy shield, o'ershadowing him whole,
High wrought and beautiful, he next assumed.
Ten brazen circles bright around its field
Extensive, *circle within circle*, ran ;
The central boss was black, but hemmed about
With twice ten bosses of resplendent tin.

The loop was silver, and a serpent form
Cerulean over all its surface twined."

The "ten brazen circles" are exemplified by the

elaborate and beautifully ornamented form of the round shield in the later Assyrian era. The surface presented a number of concentric bands, usually about five or six, each of which was adorned with



ORNAMENTED SHIELDS.

an elegant pattern of zigzagged or vandyked lines, rosettes, lotus flowers and buds, &c.* Generally the

* The Greek chieftains used shields adorned with significant devices and mottoes (See *Æschylus, Seven Chiefs*), like the armorial bearings of modern chivalry. The device of a raging lion appears upon what seems to be a round shield in a hunting scene of the Khornabad era. (Botta, pl. 111.)

inside displayed the wicker of which the framework was composed, but sometimes it also was plated in similar elegant forms; sometimes both sides had only simple concentric bands, perhaps of different metals, and at others the exterior was of uncovered wicker with a circular plate in the middle. The diameter of these bucklers, judging from the size of the warriors who carried them, must have been from two feet and a half to two and three quarters.

In the representation of an army descending a thickly wooded mountain, in a sculpture at Kouyunjik, the soldiers carry similar shields, less ornamented; some of these are drawn in perspective, a thing not very usual; and thus we see the shape to have been very convex, the outline sometimes



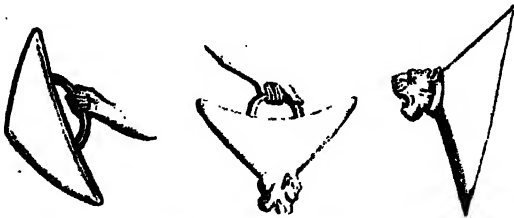
SHIELDS IN PERSPECTIVE.

forming the arc of a circle, sometimes approaching to a cone; they were so borne as to protect the breast, perhaps as a defence against the branches and spinous plants of the forest through which the army

was forcing its way. In other sculptures of the same period this shield is figured large enough to reach from the shoulder to the knee, which would give a diameter of about three feet.

Bucklers of this form, and ornamented with similar devices, are now carried, as Mr. Layard assures us, by the Koords and Arabs. They are made of the hide of the hippopotamus; but how the inhabitants of the Armenian mountains contrive to obtain the skin of the unwieldy river-horse of the African streams, we are not informed.

At Khorsabad there is a sculptured scene which affords an interesting illustration of a custom more than once mentioned in Scripture. It appears to be the plundering by an Assyrian army, of a temple in Mekhatseri, a city of Armenia, perhaps the same as the modern Van.* The temple is hexastyle, with a wide but low conical roof resembling a Grecian pediment; and the walls between the pillars and the



ARMENIAN SHIELDS.

columns themselves are hung with round shields, some of which are shown in front and some laterally.

* Rawlinson, on the *Cun. Inc.* p. 66 (*note*).

Assyrian soldiers are seen running over the roof, carrying off a shield in each hand, and others are climbing up. The contour of these bucklers is strongly conical, and the *umbo* is formed by a gaping lion's head, large and prominent.

From the eagerness with which these shields were snatched away we may suppose that they were made of gold, like those in the first and second of the following passages, in which we have a record of a very similar incident.

And king Solomon made two hundred targets of beaten gold: six hundred shekels of gold went to one target. And he made three hundred shields of beaten gold; three pound of gold went to one shield; and the king put them in the house of the forest of Lebanon. 1 Kings x. 16, 17.

And it came to pass, in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, that Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem: and he took away the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king's house; he even took away all: and he took away all the shields of gold which Solomon had made. And king Rehoboam made in their stead brazen shields, and committed them unto the hands of the chief of the guard, which kept the door of the king's house. And it was so, when the king went into the house of the LORD, that the guard bare them, and brought them back into the guard-chamber. 1 Kings xiv. 25—28.

Thy neck is like the tower of David, builded for an armoury; whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men. Cant. iv. 4.

They of Persia and of Lud and of Phut were in thine army thy men of war: they hanged the shield and helmet in thee; they set forth thy comeliness. The men of Arvad, with thine army, were upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadims were in thy towers: they hanged their shields upon thy walls round about; they have made thy beauty perfect. Ezek. xxvii. 10, 11.

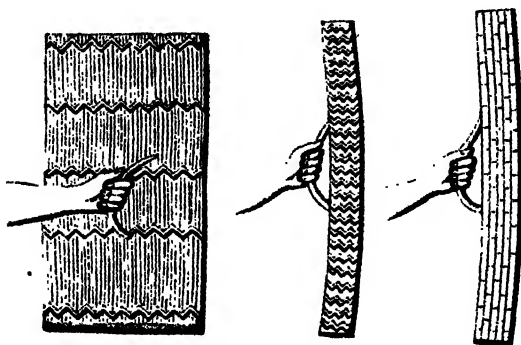
The Greeks were accustomed, at the close of a war, to hang shields in their temples, having first taken off their straps, that they might not be readily

available to the populace in the case of a sudden tumult. No such precaution had been observed in this Armenian temple, for the loops by which the soldiers carry off the shields are conspicuously depicted. The Grecian strap, however, was not made like that of the Assyrian shield, but consisted of a thong, which ran all round the inner margin, nailed loosely so as to make a series of loops, one of which was grasped in the hand, the arm being passed through the central band.

Another form of hand-shield used by the Assyrian soldiery was four-sided and oblong, the longer diameter carried perpendicularly. It was made of wicker, or perhaps of stiff reeds, not plaited, but bound together in flat parallel series, with cross bands. The loop was large, and placed lengthwise. The dimensions of this shield seem to have been about two feet in length by one in breadth. Probably this was the *πίλη*, described as common among many Asiatic nations, "a small shield of quadrangular form, a frame of wood or wicker, covered with leather, without any metal rim." It seems, however, to have been sometimes slightly incurved at the two sides, like the Roman *scutum*.

In the conduct of a siege, the archers were accompanied by shield-bearers who carried bucklers apparently formed of wicker-work, of bands of reeds, or of embossed leather. These were square in their general form, but the upper margin was sometimes curved back, or had a rectangular projection to protect the head from missiles. They were so large that when the bottom rested on the ground, the top

was higher than the heads of the warriors. A strap or loop was affixed to the inner side above the middle, by which the bearer carried it about, or steadied it when in use. The common mode of using it was to plant it on the ground in front of the bearer and archer, the latter discharging his arrows on one side, as from behind a wall; but sometimes, as when the besiegers were close under the wall, the shield-bearer



WICKER BUCKLERS.

elevated his buckler towards the rampart from which the missiles were discharged. This defence, though large, was light, for the bearer always wielded it with his left hand, and generally carried in his right a sword or short spear.

Very frequently, but not always, the archer was an eunuch, and his shield-bearer a bearded man. The custom seems to have prevailed only in the later periods, no example of it, or of the great bulwark, being found in the Nimroud sculptures.

This mode of fighting in pairs was not unknown to the Greeks. Thus Homer mentions—

Teucer, wide-straining his impatient bow.
 Ho under covert fought of the broad shield
 Of Telamonian Ajax ; Ajax thrust
 His shield far forth ; the hero from behind
 Took aim, and whom his arrow struck, he fell :
 Then close as to his mother's side a child
 For safety creeps, the unseen Teucer crept
 To Ajax' side, who shielded him again.

Il. viii. 303.



ARCHER AND TARGETER.

Xenophon, in enumerating (*Cyrop. ii. and v.*) the forces of the Assyrian, as well as those which Cyrus was able to bring against him, invariably couples together archers and targeteers.

He describes also the Egyptians at the battle of Cunaxa, as having long wooden bucklers which reached down to the feet. Herodotus also (*v. 111.*) records an exploit of the shield-bearer of Onesilus, a king of Cyprus.

Goliath of Gath was accompanied by "a man bearing a shield," who "went before him" (1 Sam. xvii. 7, 41). Asa had in his army 300,000 men of Judah "that bare targets and spears," and 280,000 men of Benjamin "that bare shields and drew bows" (2 Chron. xiv. 8); and Jehoshaphat had of this latter tribe 200,000 "armed men with bow and shield" (2 Chron. xvii. 17). As the use of the bow necessitated the employment of both hands, the shield could have been of any avail only as it was carried by another; and therefore we may fairly presume these passages to refer to the custom represented in the Assyrian bas-reliefs. Probably the "targets" of beaten gold, placed by Solomon in the house of the forest of Lebanon, which were twice as heavy as the "shields," the former weighing about 300 ounces each, were of the form of the upright resting bucklers.

The light-armed troops, like the *ἀνοπλοι* of the Greeks, were protected only by their ordinary garments or by linen armour.* That corslets of linen were common among some of the Asiatic nations, we learn from Xenophon, who describes the surprise of Abradates the Susian king, when his wife substituted a corslet of gold of her own making for his ordinary *linothorax*, the usual armour of his country.† The Rig Veda, a much older authority, mentions quilted (*literally* well-stitched) armour as worn in India.‡ The Egyptians also frequently went to war defended only by coats of linen or other textile fabrics, sometimes richly embroidered, like that one which Amasis sent to Minerva at Lindus, which

* Herod. vii. 63. † Cyrop. vi. ‡ Wilson's Translation, p. 83.

"was made of linen, with many figures of animals inwrought, and adorned with gold and cotton-wool."* At the siege of Troy, Oilcan Ajax was so armed :—

————— Of an humbler crest
Far humbler, and of smaller limb was he
Than Ajax Telamon, and with a guard
Of linen texture light his breast secured.—*Il. ii. 601.*

Amphius also was similarly defended (*ii. 961*); but brazen armour was much more common among the Greeks.

In the early times of Assyria the warriors were sometimes very completely enveloped in scale-armour.† A coat of scales, much like those of a fish in form, but not overlapping, extended from the neck down to the ankles; and a hood of the same material protected the cheeks, the poll, the neck, and even covered the chin, descending as low as the chest. Over this was placed* the helmet. Mr. Layard discovered a great number of these scales in the north-west palace at Nimroud. They were generally of iron, two to three inches in length, with a ridge running down the centre, exactly as represented in the sculptures. Some were inlaid with copper. The weight of such a garment with the hood and helmet, must have been immense, yet the warriors fought on foot.

The Persians in the army of Xerxes are described

* Herod. iii. 47.

† Moses of Khorene, narrating the battle between Haik the founder of the Armenian nation and Nimrod or Baal, describes the latter as clad in a treble coat of mail. Quoted in Prince Hubboff's Genealogical Catalogue, p. 15.

as wearing scale armour of iron;* but sometimes the scales were made of gold.



SCALE-ARMOUR (*Nimroud*).

Porus, the Indian king who defended the Hydaspes against Alexander, is described by Arrian as completely encased in scale armour, except the right arm, which was bare for combat. His cuirass, of great strength and beautiful workmanship, excited the admiration of the Macedonians, who had never seen so exquisite a specimen of scale-mail.†

Instead of the pointed scales we see, in one Assyrian sculpture, oval plates set in transverse rows, and

* Herod. vii. 61.

† The earliest notices of body armour are probably in the hymns of the Rig Veda, where iron and golden armour are mentioned, (Wilson, pp. 152, 66) and in the Book of Job (xli. 26).

slightly overlapping laterally: the rows were separated by narrow interstices of the linen or cloth on which they were quilted, as were also the scales in the more common form, doubtless to afford greater flexibility. The mail-shirts in this case reach from the neck to the hips.

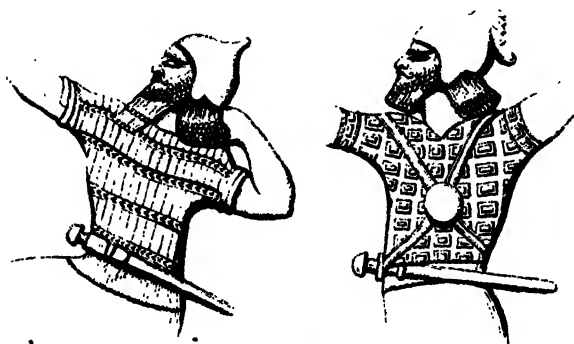
At the later era of Kouyunjik, the common form was a cuirass of similar extent, and apparently of complex construction. It consisted of transverse rows of quadrangular plates, alternating with rows of what appears to be chain-armour, and all separated by narrow interstitial lines.

When the palace at Khorsabad was built, which seems to have been only one generation earlier, the heavy-armed troops wore in general a *lorica*, reaching from the shoulders to the hips, composed of scales shaped much like those of the earliest forms, but considerably longer, and with the points downward, instead of upward. These long, feather-like scales, were set side by side in rows, separated by narrow series of triangular plates overlapping each other sideways. Possibly this may have been the Phrygian armour alluded to by Virgil, a skin covered with brazen feather-scales, sewed together with gold.* In some cases these feather-scales were square at both ends, when the resemblance to those of the Kouyunjik sculptures was so great as to suggest the identity of material used for both. Others wore a short coat, reaching to the knees, studded with square bosses, probably of metal or horn,†

* *Æn.* xi. 770.

† The Sarmatæ and Quadi, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, used

with intervals between. The garment was sometimes wholly covered with these, but occasionally they were omitted below the girdle, with the exception of two or three rows at the lower border. Such an armature would afford considerable protection against the stroke of a sword.



CUIRASSES (*Khorsabad*).

A double belt, crossing before and behind, was sometimes worn, especially in latter times; it passed over each shoulder, and the point of intersection on the breast was covered originally with a button; but by degrees this was enlarged until it became a circular disk of metal as large as a dinner-plate. It was frequently ornamented with concentric lines.

No parallel is seen in the Assyrian sculptures to the stiff cuirass of the Greeks and Romans, the *θώραξ σιταῖς*, made of large plates of metal or of hard small plates of horn, planed and polished, and quilted on linen shirts. Pausanias represents the Sarmatæ as making the plates out of horse-hoofs; these were very strong, and almost impenetrable.

leather, and capable of standing erect when placed on the ground.

Cuirasses seem to have been employed by the Hebrews, and by the nations with whom they were familiar. Saul in arming David for the conflict with Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 38), put on him his own armour, including a coat of mail; and the redoubtable Philistine himself was enveloped in a lorica, which we are expressly told was made of scales, like that of early Assyrian times. For the word rendered "mail," is applied everywhere else to the scales of fishes, קשקש. That Saul's corslet was also a loose shirt of mail, seems probable from the circumstance that otherwise the same garment could hardly have been worn by the stripling David and by a man of the colossal stature of the son of Kish.*

Perhaps we may suppose that the random arrow which smote Ahab the king of Israel "between the joints of the harness" (1 Kings xxii. 34), penetrated the narrow interstice, which we have seen was left in the Assyrian corslet, between the rows of scales, where the linen or cloth of the under shirt would present a feeble resistance to its fatal point.

The Book of Job (xli. 26) mentions the habergeon, or mail-coat, as useless against Leviathan. Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 14) armed his mighty standing army with the same defence; and it was worn by the faithful few who with Nehemiah (Neh. iv. 16) rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem. The army of Babylon, under Nebuchadnezzar, is twice described by

* Hector, in the Iliad (xvii. 246), could wear the armour of Achilles only by its being miraculously adapted to his great size.

Jeremiah (xli. 4; li. 3) as clothed in brigandines or cuirasses.

The Assyrian habergeon had no sleeves, or at least only such as were sufficient to protect the shoulders; the arms were always bare. The legs were equally undefended in the earliest times; but in the era of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik it was customary to wear closely-fitting trowsers, reaching as far up the thigh as the short tunic permits to be seen, and at least as low as the middle of the leg, where they met the boots or greaves. They were



TROWNERS AND BUSKINS.

bound with garters below the knee. The texture is represented commonly by crossed lines forming lozenges, which suggests chain-mail; but figures in some of the Khorsabad sculptures, which are represented on a larger scale,* seem, *at least if the French engraver has correctly copied his original*, to warrant the supposition, that closely-fitting scale-armour was intended.† We know from ancient gems

* See Botta, pls. 108 and 143. †

† Yet scribes, who take notes of the number of human heads brought in by the warriors, have their legs invested with this kind of trowsers

and other figures, that among the nations considered by the Greeks and Romans as "barbarian," it was not uncommon for the whole body and limbs of a warrior, nay even the whole of his horse, even to his muzzle and his hoofs, to be encased in a tightly-fitted garment of chain- or scale mail, so flexible and elastic as to display not only the shape of the wearer, but even the contour of the muscles.*



INDIAN MAIL-SHIRT.

Shirts of chain-mail are still used by the Koord- and their feet with boots, in no respect differing from those of the armed men who present the trophies of battle. See Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii. 184. The structure may, after all, have been a loose open texture of knit worsted, or cotton.

* Virgil repeatedly alludes to hauberks of gold chain-mail.

Loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem.—*Æn.* lii. 467.

See also *Ib.* v. 259 ; vii. 639.

ish warriors, as they are by the Affghans, and the martial races of Northern India. Some of the specimens from Lahore and Assam, now (August, 1851) in the Great Exhibition, illustrate the combination of plate and chain-armour which we have alluded to above as worn by the Assyrians. Some of these Indian shirts have the breast formed of perpendicular plates of steel separated by fine chain-work; others have, instead, perpendicular rows of narrow transverse plates, similarly separated by chain, of which the garment generally is composed.

Greaves,—such as those on which the Greeks so much prided themselves, made in one plate of metal, bent round to the shape of the leg, and lined with felt or sponge,—seem not to have been used by the Assyrians; though we find them expressly mentioned in the accoutrements of Goliath,—“he had greaves of brass upon his legs” (1 Sam. xvii. 6). Their place seems to have been supplied in the Assyrian army, both cavalry and infantry, partly by the mail-trowsers just described, and partly by buskins, probably made of leather. These were laced in front by thongs, but the leather was no doubt continued over the shin, unless the material in this part was stouter (perhaps even *metal*) the thongs passing over it, and binding the whole firmly to the leg. They were commonly worn at the Khorsabad era, generally reaching above mid-leg, and sometimes almost to the knee; and they appear to have enclosed the lower part of the trowsers. Some of the nations represented in

the sculptures, as hostile or tributary to Assyria, wore boots more like our own, closely enveloping the foot and leg, without any lacing or opening. The well-known story of Alcmaeon, who "drew on the widest boots he could find," in order to fill them with gold-dust from the treasury of Croesus (see Herod. vi. 125), shows that these were a Lydian article of dress.

No part of the armour of the Assyrian warrior is more interesting than the helmet. We here trace the progress of this defence from the simple cap to the crested and beautified ornament, which has been familiar to us from classic models; and are enabled to show its connexion with the form hitherto ascribed to Greek invention, as well as to discern that the *rationale* assumed for some of its parts has been founded in error.

The earliest and simplest form of head-dress represented, was a conical cap, without bands or lap-pets, the summit produced into a point. This was almost universally worn both in war and in hunting. It was probably made of felt,* the original material of head-dress, known before weaving was invented; certainly not of metal, for in one of the sculptures an Assyrian warrior is seen swimming across a river on an inflated skin, quite naked, with the exception

* Herodotus speaks of Scythians who lived in tents made of felt. It is generally believed that this substance was first made known to Western Europe through the crusaders, who found the tents of their oriental enemies made of it. Both Homer and Hesiod speak of it; and its Greek name *πίλος*, was the origin of the common appellation (*pileus*) of a hat or cap.

of a narrow girdle around his loins, and *the pointed cap upon his head.*

If its lightness is thus proved, its flexibility is sufficiently shown in another design found in the central ruin at Nimroud. Here we have the common form, but the pointed top is fallen over forward, as if unable to sustain its own weight. Now this is the well-known Phrygian cap, which we find continually introduced as the characteristic symbol of Asiatic life, in the ancient classic paintings and sculptures of Priam and Mithras, and in short of all the representations not only of Trojans and Phrygians, but of Amazons, and of all the inhabitants of Asia Minor, and even of nations dwelling still farther east. That the decurved point was not essential is indicated by the circumstance that some Asiatic nations retained the original form, as the Sacæ, whom, serving in Xerxes' army, Herodotus describes as having "on their heads caps, which came to a point and stood erect."* Some of the Koords at the present day wear a conical cap of felt closely resembling that of their Assyrian ancestors.

This *pileus* seems originally to have had a rim which was turned up all round, and rose to a peak above the forehead; much like certain skin and woollen caps worn by the labouring classes amongst us. It is not improbable that the projecting shade of the Grecian helmet may have originated in this peak turned down; though it is never seen so directed in the Assyrian sculptures.

The metal helmets worn by the soldiery doubtless

* Herod. vii. 63.

owed their forms to this original felt cap. The most common in the early sculptures is identical with it in shape, and the appearance of the upturned



HELMETS.

rim and peak is carefully copied by lines. The material of which it was composed, as shown by specimens discovered at Nimroud, was iron, *and these lines were of copper, inlaid.**

At Khorsabad a variation was in vogue, by which the general form was globosc, and the summit was shaped into an abrupt slender point, rather truncated. In some of these the frontal peak was so strongly marked as to induce the belief that the material was actually doubled there.

The falling point, distinguishing what is commonly known as the Phrygian bonnet, was the obvious parent of a very elegant form of crest, from which in due course grew various other modifications of form. The shape was imitated in metal, with no other variation at first than the drawing out of the summit into a long tapering point, which was then bent forward and downward in a very graceful

* Herodotus (i. 25) attributes the art of inlaying iron to Glaucus the Chian, who, as he says, invented it for Alyattes, king of Lydia, B.C. 619—562. But we see that it was familiar to the Assyrians many centuries earlier.

curve, sometimes almost completing a circle. This kind is represented in a bas-relief from the central ruins of Nimroud.

Then was probably suggested the bifurcation of the point, so that one extremity should curve forward and the other backward, and thus was invented an arched crest supported upon a short pillar. The upper edge of the crest, both in its simple and double form was then furnished with a fringe, which may have been the mane of a horse, cut short and evenly trimmed. And so was attained the familiar Grecian helmet,*—

“ Whose crest of horse-hair nodded to the step
In awful state ;”

and which they acknowledged to have received from a people of Asia Minor.† The Assyrians, however, seem always to have worn the hair of the crest short-cropped, while the Greeks preferred it flowing, or at all events terminated it by a lengthened tuft behind.

The remains of pigment, still preserved on the bas-reliefs of Khorsabad, reveal the fact that the fringe of the crest was disposed in alternate colours, blue and orange. These suggest that the materials employed were steel and gold (or perhaps copper), and we may suppose that the original horse-mane gave place to an artificial imitation by which the

* Thus we have seen that the three inventions ascribed to the Carians, the affixing of a handle to the shield, the adorning of the latter with devices, and the furnishing of the helmet with a crest (Herod. i. 171) were all well known to the Assyrians.

† Herod. i. 171.

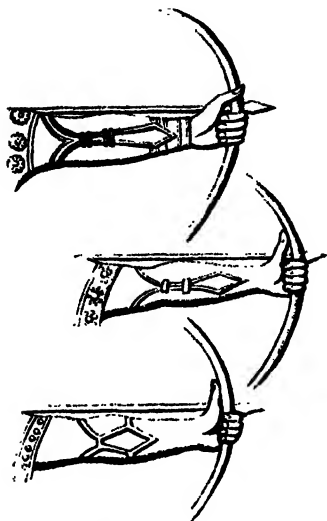
hairs were represented by metal wires; and thus the conjecture of Sir Samuel Meyrick that the hair-like crest of the Grecian helmet was sometimes composed of golden wire, receives a remarkable confirmation.

The later forms of the helmet seem always to have been furnished with lappets more or less developed, for the protection of the ears, of which the early simple form was generally destitute. This simple *pileus*, however, it is proper to observe, maintained its place in general esteem, amidst all the innovations and elegancies that were introduced; for we see it extensively worn by the soldiery, in the battle scenes of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, together with the most highly finished helmets adorned with crests.

The notices of the helmet in the Holy Scriptures are very few; we can recall but two in which it appears as a Hebrew defence. Uzziah's fighting host was furnished with helmets (2 Chron. xxvi. 14); and, much earlier, Saul had one in his panoply. The latter was made of brass (probably bronze), as was that of the Philistine giant (1 Sam. xvii. 5, 38).

We may add to this enumeration of the defensive arms of the Assyrians (though it does not belong to the same category), the guard which was worn on the inside of the left arm to protect it from the stroke of the bow-string, when the arrow was shot. It consisted of a lozenge-shaped piece of leather (probably), or perhaps of metal, which was fastened by straps passing round the arm. The form, with slight modifications, was peculiar, but constant; and

the reasons for its peculiarity are not obvious. It seems to have been used only at the more ancient period.



ARM-GUARD.

The king himself, though accustomed to conduct his wars in person, never wore either a helmet or body-armour;—unless a short coat, marked with parallel lines, enclosing rosettes and similar devices,* may be a lorica of plate-mail, engraved embossed, or inlaid;—nor is he generally represented as carrying arms, except the sword and daggers, and the bow. This last is the weapon with which he is invariably armed, when depicted in the act of

* Layard, pl. 13.

fighting. He was always accompanied to war and to the chase, and frequently, as we have seen, in his court at the palace, by one or more armour-bearers, officers of high rank, generally eunuchs, who carried his bow and quiver (when not in use), his mace, and his buckler. The place of this responsible courtier was, of course, close to the royal person, and he rode in the same chariot as his master, when *he* was so mounted.

The same practice existed among the Hebrews; thus we read of the armour-bearer of Abimelech (Judg. ix. 54); of Jonathan (1 Sam. xiv. 1—17); of Saul (1 Sam. xxxi. 4); and of Joab (1 Chron. xi. 39). David was at one time the armour-bearer to Saul, and the choice, as being an expression of the king's great love for him (1 Sam. xvi. 21), shows how honourable the office was held to be.

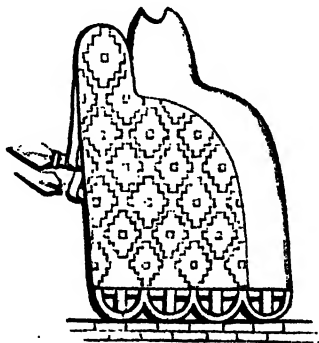
Besides the common weapons of war, the Assyrians employed in sieges machines for the destruction of the walls of their opponents. In their general structure and principle, these were identical with the battering-rams of other nations, but the head, at least in the Khorsabad era, was pointed and fashioned like that of a spear. Hence the mode of their action was not that of shaking the wall and causing it to fall by repeated heavy shocks, but rather that of penetrating the courses of bricks, of which they were probably composed, and thus *picking*, if we may be allowed the phrase, great holes in them, until at length the battlements would fall for want of support beneath. We see this result continually represented in the bas-reliefs. It appears that the iron-armed

beam was so hung that its blows could be directed to various points, within certain limits, at the pleasure of the engineers. Not like those engines of which Lucan speaks, the alteration of whose direction was an operation of much time and labour:—

Nor sudden could they change their erring aim,
Slow and unwieldy moves the cumbrous frame.

Pharsalia, iii.

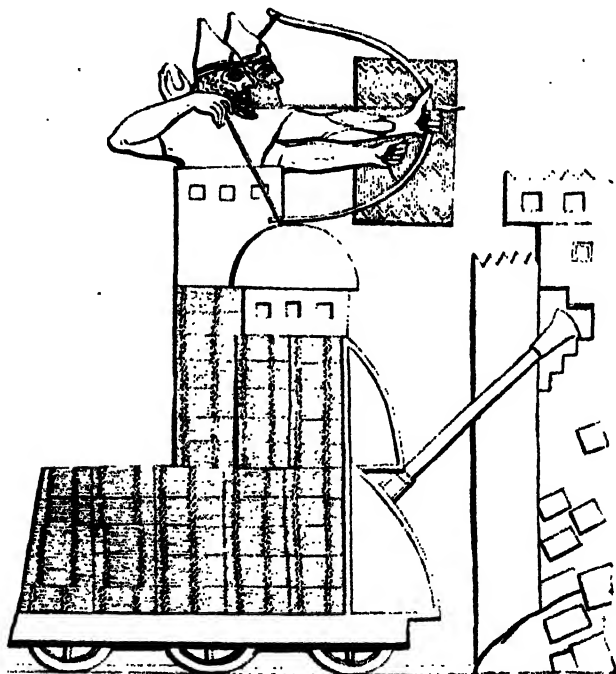
Sometimes there were two beams in one engine, probably one *beside*, and not, as conventionally represented, one *over* the other. The frame-work which composed the machinery was furnished with four wheels, and the whole was inclosed by a canopy sometimes formed of leather and ornamented, at others of raw skins with the wool on, as a better preservation against fire. The beam was suspended by a rope, not borne by men.



POINTED RAMS.

But in the earliest periods, as when the north-west palace of Nimroud was built, a true battering-

ram was used. It was a massive beam with a trumpet-shaped solid head of metal, and the machinery by which it was wielded was moved on three pairs of wheels. Connected with the machine, and forming a part of it, was a lofty tower, from the summit of



BATTERING RAM.

which, when wheeled up to the walls, the besiegers could discharge their missiles upon the battlements with more advantage. The front part of this he-

polis, or city-taker (as was the case with the spear-headed ram), was also raised into a sort of tower,—higher than the rest of the structure, but not so elevated as the accessory tower,—in which doubtless was the cross-beam from which the ram was slung. The upper part of this turret, as well as of the assault-tower, was sometimes pierced with a row of loop-holes for the discharge of arrows when the defence was energetic. The whole machine was covered with hurdles of wicker. No tower appears to have been affixed to the engine in the later periods, but the front part of the frame-work was elevated into a sort of dome, for the better suspension of the beam ; this construction was in use also at Nimroud.

In this, as in other instances, the monuments of Nineveh tend to show how unjustly the Greeks have been accredited as the inventors of many of the contrivances, which in fact they merely received from the East. The invention of the battering-ram is by some ascribed to Artemanes of Clazomene, who flourished about 440 B. C. Pliny alludes to a report that it was the work of Epeus during the siege of Troy ; but Homer makes not the slightest allusion to it. Thucydides (ii. 76) mentions it as employed in the Peloponnesian War B. C. 429 ; and we may safely consider that the first acquaintance which the Greeks had with the engine was not much earlier than the middle of that century. Moveable towers placed on wheels for use in sieges, are said to have been invented for the siege of Byzantium by Philip, about B. C. 340. But here we have indisputable evidence that both were employed in sieges with great

effect by the Assyrians as ordinary implements of war, many years before.

We see also how little credit is to be given to the statement of Diodorus, that the long duration of the siege of Nineveh in the time of Sardanapalus was owing to the ignorance of battering-rams and other military engines, the use of which in his day was wont to bring sieges to a speedy issue.*

Vitruvius and Tertullian ascribe the invention to the Tyrians, and it has been hence supposed that Nebuchadnezzar in his siege of Tyre acquired that knowledge of these machines which enabled him to use them against Jerusalem, as described by the Prophet Ezekiel.

At his right hand was the divination for Jerusalem, to appoint captains, to open the mouth in the slaughter, to lift up the voice with shouting, to appoint battering-rams against the gates, to cast a mount, and to build a fort. Ezek. xxi. 22.

But Nebuchadnezzar was doubtless familiar with them much nearer home.

The neglect of proportion in the drawing of these specimens of ancient art precludes the possibility of our ascertaining their actual dimensions. If we were to take as a criterion the human figures represented in the scene, we should conclude that the engine was no larger than a wheel-barrow, and the assault-tower scarcely equal to the stature of a man; while the warriors fighting at the summit

* For ballistes to cast stones, testudos to cast up mounds, and battering-rams, were not known in those ages.—Diod. Sic. B. ii. § 2. (Booth's *vera*. p. 67.)

strongly remind us of a sweep projecting his head and shoulders with much difficulty from a slender chimney-pot. On the other hand, if we look at the besieged city, we see that the tower considerably overtops its walls, and frequently equals its loftiest turrets, while, sometimes, the warrior is represented as stepping from its summit on to the walls. It is probable that the latter proportion is nearer the truth; for such a tower, to have been effective, must have been made to *approach* the battlements at least. Vitruvius says the smallest ought to be not less than 60 cubits high, and the greater 120 cubits. Plutarch speaks of one 100 cubits high used by Mithridates at the siege of Cyzicus. Some of these towers were of twenty stories, each pierced with windows (as were the Assyrian ones); those of ten stories were common.

In order to hamper the battering-ram and destroy, or, at any rate, impede its action, the garrison let down from the battlements strong chains, with which they caught the head of the engine. The object desired was probably to hold it fast, and thus prevent it from being drawn back to receive a fresh impetus; for we can hardly conceive that by any force which they could employ in dragging upwards, they could hope to sever the head from the beam. But this feat might have been effected by a well-aimed blow with a massive stone hurled down from the wall, such as we actually see sometimes in the hands of the besieged warriors; and according to Josephus*

* Wars of the Jews, III. vii. Which see for an interesting description of the structure, power, and form of the implement, as it existed in that

it was actually performed in such a manner at the siege of Jotapata.

To obviate these efforts the besiegers made use of grappling hooks, with which they seized the links of the chain, and by swinging with all their weight upon them, endeavoured to drag it out of the hands of their enemies.

Besides the battering and spear-headed ram the Assyrians used other military engines. Two of these are represented in a siege from Nimroud,* which, from an appearance like a twisted rope at the top of one, and several great stones in the air or open space in front of them, we may conjecture to have been catapults, but very different in form and structure from those used by the Romans, and difficult to understand. They are very tall and slender, somewhat resembling the half of an obelisk divided perpendicularly, marked with regular angled patterns, as if covered with cloth or stamped leather. They were brought up to the fortress on a mound, or embankment, formed of alternate layers of branches of trees and bricks. A man from the battlements holds towards these machines a large flaming torch.

If these be indeed catapults, it shows that these engines also were of much greater antiquity than has been supposed. Diodorus and Plutarch assign their invention to a period in the third century B. C., but they are mentioned in the Holy Scriptures full five hundred years earlier than this, and their

age, as well as the various devices employed to destroy and to preserve it; all illustrative of our subject.

* Layard, pl. 29.

invention is *apparently* ascribed to the reign of Uzziah, who at least adopted them.

And he made in Jerusalem engines, invented by cunning men, to be on the towers and upon the bulwarks, to shoot arrows and great stones withal. And his name spread far abroad ; for he was marvellously helped, till he was strong. 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

And at a period earlier still, they appear to have been known to the Hindoos, for engines for the defence of a fort are mentioned in the Institutes of Menu (vii. 75).

The extent to which such artillery was used in later times of antiquity may be learned from the fact, that when Carthage fell into the power of the Romans, 149 B. C., two thousand engines for casting darts and stones were surrendered to the consul, M. Censorinus. Their power is illustrated by the fact that balistæ, which threw stones of a hundred weight, were common ; and there were some that cast fragments of three times that weight. (Diod. xx. 48, 86.)

From the following passage it is plain that some sorts of military engines were used in sieges before the Exodus from Egypt, though the text does not definitely describe them. Perhaps moveable towers may be particularly intended.

When thou shalt besiege a city a long time, in making war against it to take it, thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof by forcing an ax against them : for thou mayest eat of them, and thou shalt not cut them down (for the tree of the field is man's life) to employ them in the siege : only the trees which thou knowest that they be not trees for meat, thou shalt destroy and cut them down ; and thou shalt build bulwarks against the city that maketh war with thee, until it be subdued. Deut. xx. 19, 20.

In David's time both battering machines, and embankments on which to erect them, were used; the latter being rendered necessary because of a trench or moat that surrounded the fortress, as appears from the siege of Abel by Joab.

And they came and besieged him [*i.e.* Sheba] in Abel of Beth-maschah, and they cast up a bank against the city, and it stood in the trench; and all the people that were with Joab battered the wall, to throw it down. 2 Sam. xx. 15.

We shall have occasion to mention the use of fire by the Assyrians in applying torches to the gates of besieged cities. It was, however, as often used against themselves. The wood-work of the military engines, especially when covered with hurdles, presented a fair mark for the hurling of fiery missiles; and we see from the sculptures that the enemy was not slow to avail himself of the device. In the same scene as that in which the grappling chain is used, we perceive another warrior emptying from a vessel, what seems evidently intended to represent masses of tow or bitumen in flames, upon the ram; the nature of the substance being indicated both by the flickering waves of the drawing, and by the red colour, remains of which were still discernible, when it was first uncovered.

To guard against this danger, the assailants provided their assault-tower with projecting spouts, which are represented as pouring out water upon the adjected flames. We may reasonably suppose, as well from the object for which they were intended as from their appearance, that these spouts were flexible, perhaps made of leather, like the hose

of our fire-engines, and capable of being directed to various points; and that they communicated with a reservoir in the top of the tower, which might be filled from the moat or river, after the engine had taken up its position.

We cannot help thinking that this sculpture throws considerable light on a passage that has presented great difficulty to critics. The capture of Jerusalem, which was strongly fortified, and in the possession of the Jebusites, was thus effected by David:—

And the king and his men went to Jerusalem unto the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land: which spake unto David, saying, Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither: thinking, David cannot come in hither. Nevertheless David took the strong hold of Zion: the same is the city of David. And David said on that day, Whosoever getteth up to the gutter, and smiteth the Jebusites, and the lame and the blind, that are hated of David's soul, he shall be chief and captain. 2 Sam. v. 6—8.

It is not to the allusion about "the blind and the lame" that we refer; for this we think the best explanation is that of Josephus, and supported by Dr. Kennicott: that the fortress was considered so strong that the blind and lame were set to man the battlements, in derision of the Hebrew king's attempts, and to shout "No David shall come in hither!" But we would beg the reader's attention to "the gutter."

The word so rendered (עֲנַנּוֹר, *tzinnor*) "occurs nowhere else except in Ps. xliii. 8; where it is translated 'water-spout.' There is a very perplexing diversity of opinions as to the meaning of the word. Dr. Boothroyd has here 'secret passage;' and, in Ps. xliii. 'water-fall;' and in fact, the result of a

comparison of a number of different interpretations will be, that the word means here a subterraneous passage through which water passed; but whence the water came, whither it went, the use, if any, to which it was applied, and whether the channel was not occasionally dry, are questions concerning which no satisfactory information can be obtained. . . . Josephus says simply that the ingress was obtained through subterraneous passages."* .

By the aid of this sculpture, however, we have no hesitation in saying, that "the gutter" was a "spout," through which water was poured, from a reservoir or tank in the tower of the fortress, upon the fire with which the besiegers might attempt to burn the gates, as we shall presently see was commonly done. For though it is figured only in this one instance, and that in a moveable tower, it is unreasonable to suppose that the device would not be used by the besieged as well as by the besiegers, for the defence of a castle-gate as well as of a military engine, especially as the facilities for obtaining a supply of water must have been greater in the former than in the latter.

The words "*getteth up to the gutter*," discountenance the notion of a subterranean passage, and imply that the position was to be attained by climbing, and that it was a feat of considerable difficulty. In the pictured forts of the Assyrian sieges, we see nothing that could offer any facility for climbing in the walls, except the *gateways*, by the projections of which a skilful climber might be able to make his

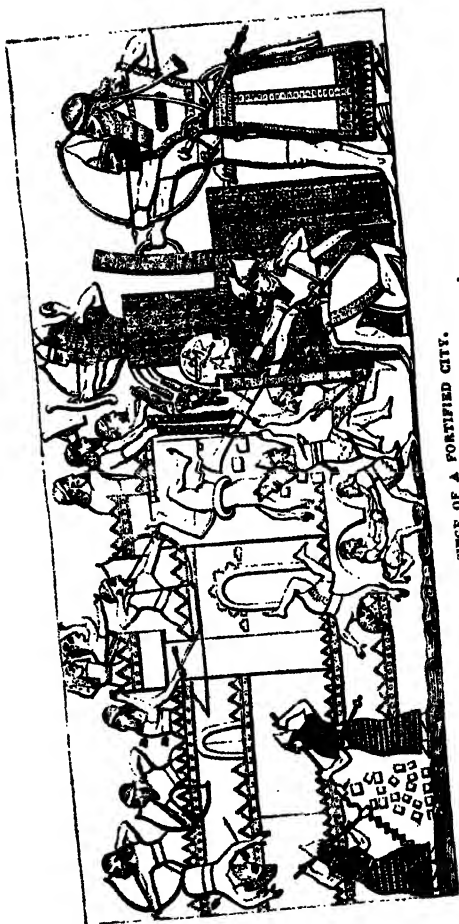
* Dr. Kitto on the passage in Pict. Bible.

ascent good;* and here alone would the "gutter" be situated, as the only danger to be apprehended from the application of fire would be the wood-work of the doors. Accordingly there alone do we see it applied.

A very interesting sculpture, from which many of these details are gathered, is now in the British Museum. It was found in the north-west palace of Nimroud, by Mr. Layard, and may therefore be assigned to the earliest and best period of Assyrian art. The accompanying engraving represents a portion of the subject, which we shall describe in detail, as illustrating much that we have said above.

It seems to be the siege of a large, well-fortified city, built not on a mountain, nor in a wooded country, but in the plain beside a river. The king in person assaults it; he is represented on foot, arrayed in his mitre, but with little of the adornment of apparel which usually distinguishes him, and undefended by body-armour. He shoots an arrow against the walls, covered by the short square buckler which his shield-bearer holds up in front of him. This functionary is enveloped in a coat of scale-

* Mr. Layard has mentioned an interesting example of Assyrian agility, that occurred during his residence in the Koordish mountains. "I occupied an upper room in a tower, forming one of the corners in the yard of the chief's harem. I was accustomed to lock my door on the outside with a padlock. The wife of the chief advised me to secure the window also. As I laughed at the idea of any one being able to enter by it, she ordered one of her handmaidens to convince me, which she did at once, dragging herself up in the most marvellous way by the mere irregularities of the bricks. After witnessing this feat, I could believe anything of the activity of the Koordish women."—*Nineveh and its Remains*, i. 190, note.



SIEGE OF A FORTIFIED CITY.

armour, reaching as low as the knees; he wears a pointed helmet, and carries a spear in his right hand. Behind the king stand two attendant eunuchs, one of whom holds a parasol over the head of his royal master, and carries the mace, the other bears the quiver. Immediately in front of the king a scaling-ladder has been raised, and the warriors, armed with shield and spear, are mounting to the battlements. Below, an Assyrian soldier is seen on his elbows and knees, creeping through a hole at the foot of the wall, which he appears to be excavating with his sword; and two others in a distant part are seen crouching beneath a cavity, apparently removing the stones of the foundation. These are all probably intended to represent mining operations.

At an intermediate point two warriors, clothed from the top of the head to the ankles in scale-armour, are working at the wall with crow-bars, which are dilated and flattened at the tip. With these they seek to dislodge the stones or bricks from the wall, inserting the wedge-like points of their implements between the joints, and *prizing* them out. To judge from the number of square stones already pulled out, we may infer that the operation could not be accused of inefficiency.

We are thus brought to the opposite side of the city, where the battering-ram and tower, moved up to the wall as already described, are gallantly assailed with chains and fire, and as strenuously defended with grappling-hooks and spouts of water. Two warriors, in complete armour, fight from the summit of the tower, the one an archer, the other a shield-

bearer; but the latter also throws a stone. The lofty front of the engine-house contains a small figure of an archer, which may either represent a soldier within shooting through a loophole, or, from the circumstance of his wearing the horned cap and flowing robes, more probably an image of the presiding divinity. Behind the engine, an archer of dignified appearance, with a tiara on his head, and long embroidered robes, is doubtless an officer of high rank; he is attended by his shield-bearer, and followed by warriors in complete armour. In these as well as others, we see the head enveloped in the hood of scale-mail, already mentioned, just leaving the face bare, but closing around the lower lip. This falls loosely over the neck and throat, and covers the origin of the coat, or rather gown, of mail, which flows from the neck down to the feet. A pointed helmet is worn over the mailed hood, and the gown is encircled by a broad girdle, which with a belt carries the ornamented sword.

The war-chariot of the king stands behind, in the care of two grooms, one of whom stands at the head of the horses, holding the bridle, the other stands in the vehicle, grasping in each hand the three reins. Neither of them wears head-dress or armour, except a sword in the girdle. The chariot is drawn by three horses abreast, and contains the king's spear. Two soldiers standing behind, unengaged in battle, but well armed with bow, mace, sword, and shield, may be intended to represent a reserve, or may be stationed as guards of the chariot.*

* The reader may compare with the above details Thucydides' account

We will now turn to the garrison. These are seen crowding the walls, engaged in vigorous, but unsuccessful defence. Some, as we have seen, assail the battering-ram with chains, and pour ignited combustibles on its wicker frame; others hurl stones at their assailants, or drop more massive fragments upon the scaling ladders; others repel the flying arrows with convex bucklers, both round and square; but the most part ply the bow, and pour down their own shafts upon the ranks below. Several, wounded or dead, are either hanging over the battlements, or are in the act of falling; in the latter the reversed position of the long hair and of the garments, as they fall headlong, is expressed with ludicrous fidelity by the artist. One warrior, transfixed by two shafts, holds out his bow and arrows in one hand, and raises the other in deprecation, and from the upper towers women appear, with dishevelled hair and uplifted hands, beseeching mercy. The carrion-eating vultures hover around, and one is already commencing his obscene repast upon the corpse of a slain warrior. To complete the story, the deportation of the captives and the spoil is depicted at one extremity of the bas-relief, where a soldier drives off three women and a child and several head of cattle. The distress of these daughters of captivity is expressed in their attitudes; one or both hands being placed upon the head, perhaps implying the tearing of the hair; one of them, doubtless a mother, lays one hand

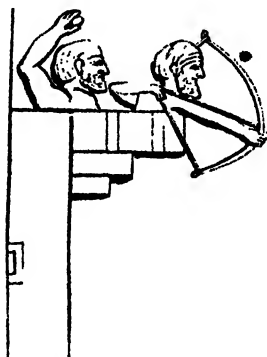
of the devices used at the siege of Platæa (Pelop. War, book ii.); and those given by Josephus of the sieges of Jotapata, Jerusalem, and Masada (Wars of the Jews, books iii. v. vi. and vii.).

on the head of her little boy, who walks beside her. He appears to be naked with the exception of a girdle, and to have his head shaved; but the women wear the hair long, falling in waved tresses on each side of the neck; and are enveloped in long gowns, marked with a singular pattern, and girded with a thick shawl at the waist. The soldier who drives them holds up his mace in a manner which seems to imply that his prisoners had better be silent in their distress. The cattle are all bulls, of fine forms and bearing, and short horns.

No representation of an Assyrian fortress has been found, nor can be expected, since the bas-reliefs were intended to record their conquests of other nations, and not assaults made by others on them. The frequent introduction of sieges into the sculptures, however, makes us familiar with the forms of the walled cities of the surrounding nations; and as these are all constructed on a common model, we may conclude that either little variety existed, or else that the artists used a conventional form, which, in that case, would be of course Assyrian, as best known to them. It is observable, however, that this form differs very considerably from that depicted in the sculptured and painted scenes of the Egyptian monuments, even when the sieges are undoubtedly those of Asiatic fortresses. The Egyptian artist seems undoubtedly to have copied the peculiar style of architecture proper to his own

country,—the base broader than the summit of the structures,—a style of which the pyramid was the perfect exponent.

In the Assyrian forts, the walls were perpendicular and parallel, as with us; they were carried up to a considerable elevation,* and at the summit were cut into angular battlements. At intervals, varying in different instances, the wall was flanked



PROJECTING TOWER (*Kouyunjik*).

by narrow towers, either round or square, which were carried up to a great height above its level.† The summit was built out in a strong projection, sometimes (as in a castle at *Kouyunjik*) to a re-

* The walls of Nineveh were 100 feet high, and flanked by 1500 towers, each 200 feet in height (*Diod. ii. § i.*); those of Babylon were 800 (*Herod.*); 130 (*Q. Curt.*); or 75 (*Strabo*); those of Ecbatana in Media were about 100 (*Judith i. 2*).

† The bas-reliefs representing the ancient city of Pinara in Lycia, found by Sir C. Fellows, show that its walls were embattled, and strengthened by square towers. The gateways were square. *Discov. in Lycia*, 142.

markable degree, supported by jutting stones in several series, so that the defenders were actually over the heads of the besiegers. This structure would much increase the difficulty of scaling. The turrets were battlemented like the wall.

Generally there were several ranges of walls, one within the other, each defended by towers and battlements, just as there were at Jerusalem when besieged by Titus. Three or four of these are frequently shown in the sculptures, as rising one above the other; but this mode of representing them is doubtless a conventionalism, arising from the ignorance of perspective. Sometimes one or two low battlemented walls without turrets surrounded the true defences.

According to Herodotus (i.98) Ecbatana in Media was inclosed by seven concentric walls, each surmounting the other by just the height of the battlements. This would produce just such an effect as is shown in the forts of the Assyrian sculptures. The historian adds, that the battlements of the outer wall were painted white, those of the second black, the third purple, the fourth blue, the fifth red, the sixth were plated with silver, the seventh with gold.

The stately towers upon the walls of Troy and of the cities whence poured forth her Grecian foes, are celebrated by Homer. The cities of Canaan at the time of the Exodus were fortresses "great and fenced up to heaven" (Deut. ix. 1). The towers of Jerusalem were considered worthy of peculiar note:—

Walk about Zion, and go round about her: tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces; that ye may tell it to the generation following. Ps. xlviii. 12, 13.

And this long before the time when

Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem, at the corner-gate, and at the valley-gate, and at the turning of the wall, and fortified them. 2 Chron.

We do not suppose that these fortresses, towers, and walls, were in every case built of stone. The lack of this material in the plain of Shinar prompted the builders of Babel to use brick, though the words of the historian, "they had brick *for stone*" (Gen. xi. 3) imply that to his mind stone was the more familiar material. Even the renowned walls of Babylon, built by Nebuchadnezzar, were *partly* of brick, burnt and cemented by bitumen, and *partly* of *sun-dried brick*.* Hewn stones for building are first alluded to in the construction of David's house (2 Sam. v. 11. *See the Hebr.*) and Solomon's temple (1 Kings v. 17); and in both cases the architects were Tyrians. The stones which are alluded to in Lev. xiv. 40—45, as infected with the plague of leprosy, were probably rough unhewn stones, built up without cement in the manner now frequently used for fences, and then plastered over, or else laid in mortar. The oldest examples of Pelasgian architecture, commonly known as Cyclopean, are of this character.

Nothing in the sculptures indicates that the walls were built of unhewn stones, or of such as were

* Josephus, quoting Berossus, *Conf. Ap.* i. § 19.

hewn polygonally (as at Mycenæ); but wherever their partial demolition by the engines or mining implements of the besiegers allows their construction to be shown, the fragments are always quadrangular and parallel-sided; and hence we must suppose them to be either hewn stones or bricks. That structures of considerable strength could be built of bricks, the Babylonian and Egyptian remains prove. The ancient Greeks thought perpendicular walls of brick more durable than stone, and used this material in their greatest edifices, as did also the Romans. If we could be sure that the delineations of the sculptures were according to fact, we think it could scarcely be doubted that brick was the substance employed in the fortresses of the Assyrian sieges, for it would be manifestly absurd to suppose that the warriors could force out massive hewn stones by prizing them with their daggers; though bricks might be so worked out. The jutting corbels or projections at the top of the towers may have been of timber.

The ironical exhortations of the Prophet Nahum to Nineveh, warrant our concluding that even in that mighty city, brick was used in the construction of fortifications.

Draw thee waters for the siege, fortify thy strong holds: go into clay, and tread the mortar, make strong the brick-kiln. Nah. iii. 14.

Dr. Kitto has some remarks of value on the fortresses of Asia. "Few towns of the least consequence in Western Asia are without walls, which, whatever be their character in other re-

spects, are sure to be lofty. As the use of artillery is still but little known, when a town has a wall too high to be easily scaled, and too thick to be easily battered down, the inhabitants look upon the place as impregnable, and fear little except the having their gates forced or betrayed, or the being starved into surrender. So little indeed is the art of besieging known in the east, that we read of great Asiatic conquerors being obliged, after every effort, to give over the attempt to obtain possession of walled towns, at the fortifications of which an European engineer would laugh. . . . However brave and victorious in the field, all their energy and power seem utterly to fail them before a walled town. The writer can speak with some degree of experience on this subject, having resided in an Asiatic town while besieged by a large body of (so called) disciplined Turks and undisciplined Arabs, and having only a very small body of vacillating and inefficient defenders. But although the assailants were assisted by some badly managed cannon and bombs, a high wall of *sun-dried brick*, by no means remarkable for its strength, offered such effectual resistance, that the besiegers would probably have been obliged to retreat in despair, had not the fear of starvation and the want of interest in defending the place against the lawful authority by which it was invested, induced the chief persons to capitulate on terms very advantageous to themselves. The walls of towns are *generally built with large bricks dried in the sun*, though sometimes of burnt

bricks, and are rarely less than thirty feet high. They are seldom strong and thick in proportion to their height, but are sometimes strengthened with round towers, or buttresses placed at equal distances from each other."*

The science, skill, and energy of the Assyrians, however, must not be measured by those of the degenerate inhabitants of modern Asia; and they would doubtless have been able to carry fortresses even though built in the strongest manner. Sennacherib was not deterred from the siege of Jerusalem by its strength, but insinuated that he and his fathers had already succeeded in reducing cities equally mighty; and we know that Nebuchadnezzar actually took it, after a blockade of more than a year. The walls of Ecbatana, which were built of hewn stones six cubits (or nine feet) long, and three cubits broad (*Judith* i. 2,) could not resist the assault of one of the Assyrian monarchs.

In the later periods of the empire the simple construction of the fortresses,—a great number of slender towers along a wall,—appears to have given place to one in which projecting angles were more common, and the towers were square, and much larger in proportion to their height, which but little exceeded that of the wall.† In one of the

* *Pict. Bible*, i. 461.

† In the interesting specimen of an ancient fortress-wall, built so as to enclose a rocky hill, and hence so much like some represented on the Assyrian bas-reliefs, that Sir C. Fellows found near Xanthus, there was "a terrace for the passage of a guard within the battlements, and this course passed by doors through the towers; and as the wall rose up the steep side of the hill, the terrace was formed of a flight of steps. Several

Khorsabad sculptures, several large square edifices, resembling castles or palaces, are represented within the walls.

The strongholds seem to have been frequently built beside a river, unless, indeed, the moat or fosse be intended by the narrow water that washes the base of the wall. Still more usually were they erected on a hill or mountain, either crowning its summits, or else built around its ascent, with the apex surmounted by a castle or tower, probably of superior strength. The Canaanite forts were generally mountain-fastnesses; and that they often had a strong tower which served as a last refuge, we learn from the sieges of Shechem and Thebez. (Judg. ix. 49, 51.) The "towered heights of Troy" are celebrated by Homer (Il. vi. *passim*); and most of the ancient Greek cities were built upon a hill or rock, on the highest point of which there was some kind of castle, citadel or tower (*ἀκρόπολις*); intended, partly, to serve, like those already spoken of, as a last resort in case of a blockade, and partly, to overawe the inhabitants in time of sedition.

The gates were always arched, down to the Kouyunjik era, when in some instances square lintels were employed. Occasionally the archway was adorned with battlements, though only for ornament, as there does not appear to have been any chamber above the gate. When there were several successive walls, each had arched gateways, and sometimes several in each. The doors were always

of the towers had but three walls, the inner side being left open."—*Discov.* 160.

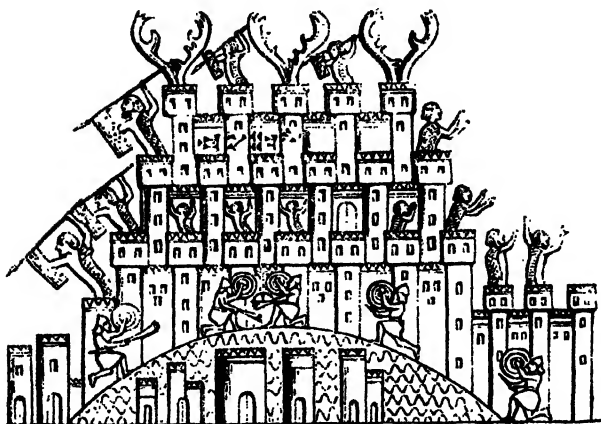
two-leaved. The Prophet Isaiah speaks of "the two-leaved gates" (xlv. 1) of Babylon; these were of brass, but the frequent application of fire to the doors by the Assyrian besiegers, and the success of such an expedient clearly enough depicted, show that the doors of these towers, like those of Shechem and Thebez, burned by Abimelech (Judges ix. 49, 52), were of wood.

Windows were generally pierced in the towers, and sometimes in the walls; they appear to have been small, simple orifices, usually square, but occasionally arched. In the towers of the Khorsabad period they occur in stories, sometimes to the number of four or five, reaching from the summit to the ground.* Besides these, the earlier towers were pierced with small round loop-holes, just beneath the battlements, whence the archers might shoot in comparative security. Statues of the king were sometimes placed in niches in the walls.

A singular ornament is seen on the towers of a besieged city in one of the Khorsabad bas-reliefs. The fortress is built on the summit of a conical hill, the base of which is girdled by a turreted wall. The fortress itself has three walls, all towered; and the summits of the three inmost towers, perhaps those of the Acropolis,—are adorned each with an enormous pair of stag's horns, which the sculptor has

* Hence we may suppose the towers to have been habitable, not like those near Xanthus (see p. 319 *note*), which were only three-sided. The walls also were probably crowned with houses, at least, where windows appear in them. Rahab's house in Jericho (Josh. ii. 15) was upon the wall, and had a window which looked out on the country.

figured as of no less expanse than the diameter of the tower itself. The houses of the Koordish



FORTRESS DECORATED WITH HORNS.

mountaineers are to this day commonly adorned with the horns of the stag or ibex, trophies of successful prowess in hunting.

W A R.

(CONTINUED.)

Woe to the bloody city ! it is all full of lies and robbery ; the prey departeth not. The noise of a whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the jumping chariots. The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear : and there is a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases ; and there is none end of their corpses ; they stumble upon their corpses. Nah. iii. 1—3.

WHEN the Assyrians took the field, and especially when they sat down before a fortified city, they formed a regular entrenched camp. Xenophon—in a passage which affords an interesting comment on much that we are describing,—speaks of this as their custom from old time : “The Assyrians then, and those that attended them, as soon as the armies were near to each other, threw up an entrenchment round themselves ; a thing that the barbarian kings practise to this day, when they encamp ; and they do it with ease by means of their multitudes of hands. For they know that an army of horse in the night is confused and unwieldy, especially if they are barbarian. For they have their horses tied down to their mangers ; and if they are attacked it is troublesome in the night to loose the horses, to bridle them, and to put them on their breast-plates and other furniture ; and when they have

mounted their horses, it is absolutely impossible to march them through the camp. Upon all these accounts, both they and others of them throw up an entrenchment round themselves; and they imagine that their being entrenched puts it in their power as long as they please to avoid fighting.*

The earliest notice we have of a regular camp is that of Israel in their march through the wilderness (Numb. ii.), the beautiful order of which elicited the rapturous applause of the prophet Balaam, as he beheld it from the heights of Peor.

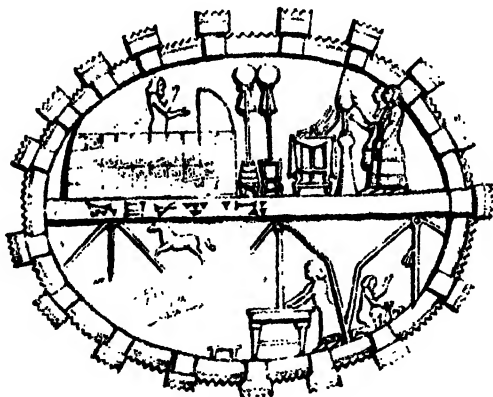
And Balaam lifted up his eyes, and he saw Israel abiding in his tents according to their tribes; and the spirit of God came upon him. And he took up his parable, and said, Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open hath said: he hath said, which heard the words of God, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open: How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel! As the valleys are they spread forth, as gardens by the river's side, as the trees of lign aloes which the Lord hath planted, and as cedar trees beside the waters. Numb. xxiv. 2-6.

We are not informed whether this had a rampart; but probably it had not; though the mention of "the gate of the camp" (Exod. xxxii. 26) might imply something of the kind. The "garrison" or "standing camp" (*mary*), of the Philistines, taken by the faith and valour of Jonathan and his armour-bearer (1 Sam. xiv.), may have been entrenched;

* Cyrop. (Ashley, 1728) i. 260. *The Assyrian* of Xenophon is specifically the king of Babylon; for Nineveh had been destroyed seventy years before the time of which he writes. The two empires, however, were so nearly identical in the most important aspects, that even the best informed Greek authors confounded them. Babylonia proper had long been a province of Assyria; Assyria proper was now a province of Babylon; the change, however, had probably little influence on the manners of the people.

but the host of Midianites and Amalekites at Moreh (Judg. vii.), was certainly unprotected by any rampart or fosse, since Gideon found no difficulty in reaching the tents, and in overhearing the conversation that was passing within them. The Hebrew camp, under Saul, however, seems to have been in some feeble sort, entrenched; both in the Philistine campaigns (1 Sam. xvii. 20), and in the monarch's foolish pursuit of David (xxvi. 5, 7); but in the latter case it presented no insurmountable obstacle to the entrance of David.

The sculptures give us several representations of the mode in which the great king, the king of



FORTIFIED CAMP.

Assyria, "encamped against the fenced cities," when he "thought to win them for himself" (2 Chron. xxxii. 1); which agree with the account quoted above from Xenophon.

The *castra stativa* was always, like that of the Lacedæmonians, round or oval, never square like that of the Romans and most other nations. It seems not to have varied, either in form or in general arrangement, from the earliest to the latest period of the empire.* A low wall was erected, which was pierced with loopholes, and furnished with turrets at regular intervals throughout its circumference. It was probably built of earth, of sun-dried or of burnt bricks, of timber, or of stones, according to the greater or less facility of procuring materials, and the intended durability of the station. We may suppose also that it was surrounded by a fosse, although the conventional mode of representation precluded the introduction of this element. A broad street ran from one point of the circumference to the opposite, through the long diameter when the form was oval, as was most commonly the case. The camp was thus divided into two portions, one of which seems to have been devoted to the king when he commanded in person; the other to the officers and soldiers. Nor will this disproportion,

* Mr. Layard supposes these representations to be the interior of the besieged city, which has fallen into the hands of the assailants, and of which they have taken possession. A bas-relief from Khorsabad (Botta, pl. 146) seems to be conclusive against this interpretation. In this the siege of a city on a hill is figured, *in the same scene as the oval wall*, which is placed at some distance from it. Prisoners are brought from the city to the *enceinte*, where scribes stand to take account of them. A guard stands in front of it, facing the beleaguered city, with his spear resting against his shoulder.

A writer in the *Athenæum* (No. 1169) has supposed that these *enceintes* illustrate the gradual progress of a city; first enclosed by a wall of earth, within which the inhabitants lived in tents, until palaces, and houses of stone or brick, were substituted for them. This explanation will not bear the test of examination.

WAR.

startling as it is at first sight, seem so remarkable when we remember the sacredness with which the royal person was environed, and the immense retinue of women, attendants and baggage with which the Asiatic monarchs always travelled, even in war.*

The king's house was erected on one side of the central street, not far from it, and thus as near as might be to the middle of the camp. It was a miniature representation of the permanent palace, without exterior windows, and therefore in all probability lighted from a quadrangular court within; it was furnished with an elevated story at one end or side, and sometimes one of inferior elevation at the opposite side, answering to the *tabsars* before described. The royal throne accompanied the monarch on his expeditions, and on it he sat in the camp to give audience to his officers of state, or to receive the prisoners of distinction that were brought before him, and probably to give judgment concerning their fate. Thus the last prince of the house of David that reigned at Jerusalem was taken into the presence of Nebuchadnezzar, whose camp

* In Morier's account of the Persian Camp at Ojan, thirty miles from Tabriz, he describes the royal palace. It consisted of a hall of audience, which formed the principal front of the building, and of an *anderoon*, or private apartments for the *harem*. The hall was supported by two wooden gilded pillars, and looked on a garden laid out in walks shaded by poplar and willow trees. The whole was surmounted by a *balu khoneh*, or upper room, screened by curtains, where the king retired to enjoy the breeze and the view of his camp. . . . The king, like the Persian monarchs of old, takes his women with him on his marches, but not in such great numbers. The Persians enjoy as many luxuries in their tents as they do in their houses, and their habits of migration have taught them great facilities in the manner of transporting their baggage.—*Second Journey through Persia*, 277, 392.

at that time was at Riblah in the north extremity of Palestine.

Then they took the king, and carried him up unto the king of Babylon to Riblah in the land of Hamath ; where he gave judgment upon him. And the king of Babylon slew the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes : he slew also the princes of Judah in Riblah. Then he put out the eyes of Zedekiah ; and the king of Babylon bound him in chains, and carried him to Babylon, and put him in prison till the day of his death. Jer. lii. 9—11.

Before the royal house stood two standards adorned with pennons, and stepped in massive pedestals, as already described (see p. 232 *ante*) ; and it was in front of these that the fire-altar of the later Zabaism stood, at which the attendant priests and eunuchs ministered, feeding the sacred pyre with fragrant wood, a faggot of which was laid on a table before them. Serpent-worship and the sacrifice of animals sometimes interchanged with the bloodless adoration of fire ; but the ceremonies of religion seem always to have accompanied the Assyrian king on his warlike expeditions.* And surely this constant recognition of their gods, (demons though they were) by Pagan nations, ought to put to shame the practice of so-called Christians with whom the very mention of Christ and his salvation is too often carefully excluded from polite society.†

* Q. Curtius (lib. iii.) mentions that the sacred fire was carried on silver altars before the pavilion of Darius, when on a march.

† Mrs. Hamilton Gray has a striking remark on the habit of the Etruscans of constantly wearing their amulet, or sacred *scarabæus*, never allowing it to be removed from the person even in death. "I could not help saying to myself, 'These heathen wished to have the Divine presence always with them :—do we in any form seek, or even desire it? Wherein are we better than they?'"—*Sepulchres of Etruria*, 64.

Sometimes, it would seem, a pavilion or tent for the king was erected outside the camp, probably after the subjugation of the enemy was complete, and no further danger was apprehended. The roof consisted either of a great number of small hexagonal compartments, or of an embroidered canopy stretched over four carved and perhaps painted pillars, set in an oblong square, of which the two at one end, forming the front, were each crowned with a springing ibex, on an ornamental volute. The rear pillars were surmounted with pine-cones on similar volutes. The roof of the pavilion was arched, and was fringed around the edge with depending lotuses, in blossom and bud, alternately. No sight of the interior is given in the sculpture, but an eunuch, bearing a rod of office, and the long towel over his shoulder, is represented as keeping guard before the front. Horses are feeding from a manger near,* each tethered by his halter to a pin driven into the ground, and another close by is undergoing the operation of the curry-comb by a groom, whose action might have been copied in one of our modern inn-yards. Buffoons, dressed in lions' skins, with the heads covering their own, are acting some game, the one wielding a whip, and the other raising his hands in entreaty, apparently at the command of a master, who guides them with a rod,—probably for the amusement of the idle soldiery, after the

- * He loosed the foaming coursers from the yoke ;
Them first they bound to mangers, which with oat
And mingled barley they supplied,—then thrust
The chariot sidelong to the splendid wall.

Odys. iv. 43.

successful fight.* A row of prisoners, who from their diadems and long robes, were probably the elders and dignitaries of the fallen city, are driven, tied by the arms, towards the pavilion by an armed warrior, who holds the cord in his hand, and menaces them with his uplifted mace.

In a distant part of the same scene, which occupies several slabs, the king and several of his military officers are seen approaching in their chariots from the battle-field strewn with the corpses of the slain ; while many foot-soldiers bring in the heads of their enemies, and are met by musicians welcoming their return with viols, and eunuchs bringing refreshment.

The camp in this instance presents some peculiarities. It is perfectly circular ; the battlements of the towers are not merely serratures, but cut in gradines ; the wall is destitute of battlements, but is pierced, as well as the towers, with round loop-holes. There are two streets, crossing each other at right angles in the centre, so that the camp must have had four gates at equidistant points. The four quarters thus marked off are occupied by persons performing domestic or sacrificial offices, such as slaughtering, cooking, &c.

* Such, at least, we suppose these otherwise incomprehensible figures to mean ; and the great number of *looties* or juckanapes in all parts of Persia, their invariable presence wherever there is any public rejoicing, and the welcome which everywhere meets them, confirm the supposition.

Plutarch mentions the introduction of a monster, half man, half horse, out of a leathern bag, by a shepherd at a banquet, by way of buffoonery. De Conviv. Sap.



CAMP AND PAVILION.

In one of these compartments two persons are engaged looking into the carcase of a slaughtered sheep, one of whom wears a cap of that peculiar form always elsewhere appropriated to the monarch's tiara. The scene naturally recalls the necromantic ceremonies of the king of Babylon at the siege of Jerusalem.

For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination: he made his arrows bright, he consulted with images, *he looked in the liver.* Ezek. xxi. 21.

The figure, however, is an eunuch, which is probably conclusive against his being the monarch. This, however, would not preclude his priestly character, as we learn abundantly from other sculptures.

The heat and other inconveniences inseparable from a closely confined and crowded camp, would doubtless render the erection of a more fragile and temporary residence in the open country desirable, as soon as it could be safely effected. Nor would the supposed practice be at all inconsistent with oriental customs. The great feast of Ahasuerus, recorded in the book of Esther, was held in a sumptuous pavilion in the palace-garden. Chardin describes the coronation of Shah Suffee as taking place in a splendid but fragile apartment of a similar kind, and the passage affords other interesting illustrations of the bas-reliefs we are considering.

“Not far from the palace walls, opposite to one of the gates which led to the grand entrance, was a detached apartment in the form of a square, each side of which was eighty feet long. From the gate to this structure was a shady alley, formed by tole-

rably high plane-trees. Along this avenue, arranged at distances of ten or twelve feet, were *stone mangers*, to which, on high days of state ceremonial, were attached the choice horses of the royal stables, to the number of ten, twelve, or even more. These horses were then most gorgeously caparisoned. All their harness was covered with precious stones, and all the metal in it was of the finest gold; of which precious metal were also all the requisites of the stable, the chains, hooks, hammers, buckets, and curry-combs.

"Around the apartments were beds of flowers and trees, planted in the Persian taste, without any order, or view to symmetrical effect. In the front, and on the south side, the garden was more extended, both in length and breadth, and was divided into parterres and square spaces, separated from each other by trees, and sown with the various beautiful flowers cultivated in Persia.

"The apartment itself was almost entirely of joiner's work; its platform was raised about three feet above the level of the ground; its covering was flat, supported by many pillars of wood, twenty-eight or thirty feet high, and overlaid with thick gold; the ceiling was of wood, *with pieces of inlaid work, forming compartments* enriched with gold.

"This apartment was open on all sides, except when the curtains attached to the top of the column, even with the ceiling on the outside, were let down. But, when that was the case, they were not suffered to drop to the base of the columns, so as to inclose the apartments, but were attached, by cords, to the

nearest trees in the garden, so that they were at the extremities ten feet from the ground, thus forming a grand awning around the apartment, which intercepted the rays of the sun, but allowed free access of air, and left the view open to those who sat within, or who assembled there. The curtains were of red cloth, lined with fine India chintz, patterned in gay colours. The bands with which the curtains were strengthened, as well as the cords, were of rich silk."

Perhaps very similar in form to the tent or tabernacle figured in the sculpture, was the magnificent one mentioned by Mr. Southgate. While he was at Bagdad in 1839, the offering of an Indian prince for the shrine at Kerbelah arrived at that city. It was a kind of pavilion, intended to cover the tomb of Hossein. It consisted of a canopy of cloth, richly adorned with emeralds, and sustained by four pillars of solid gold, set with diamonds, and between which hung festoons of the finest pearls. Its value was estimated at 21,500*l*.

Such costly pavilions seem not uncommon in the East. Sir A. Burnes describing the camp of Runjeet Sing, mentions that the intervening space between two state tents made of shawls was "shaded by a lofty screen, supported on four massy poles, adorned with silver."* At the Festival of the Spring-time, at Old Lahore, the same traveller saw a canopy among the royal tents, which was valued at a lac of rupees, covered with pearls, and having a border of precious stones.†

* Bokhara, i. 22.

† Ibid. 27.

The other half of the camp, not occupied by the court, was usually devoted to the houses of the officers, and the tents of the soldiers. The former were built on the same model as that of the king, but of smaller dimensions. The latter were made of skins, or of canvas or cloth, stretched over an upright central pole, into which were fixed radiating stakes, resembling the branches of a tree, which kept the canopy from collapsing. Pegs were driven into the central post as well as into the branches, on which were suspended water-skins, jars, and other utensils. Sofas, chairs, and tables of elegant forms are represented in these tents, in which we see the occupants engaged in various domestic employments. Around and between the tents, the horses of the cavalry were picketed, several being fastened by their halters to each manger, just as described by Xenophon in the passage above quoted.

The sumptuous style in which the Asiatics lived even on distant and arduous campaigns, is illustrated by Herodotus' account of the equipage, the gold and silver and variously coloured hangings, the gold and silver couches handsomely carved, the gold and silver tables, and the magnificent preparations for supper, found in the tent of Mardonius after the battle of Platæa; as well as the other tents decked with gold and silver, and couches gilded, bowls golden and plated, cups and drinking vessels; wag-gons loaded with gold and silver caldrons, and the necklaces, bracelets, scimitars of gold, and gorgeous apparel that were stripped from the dead bodies.*

* Herod. ix. 80—83.

The author of the apocryphal Book of Judith, incidentally alludes to the splendour of the Assyrian camp, under Holofernes, the general of Nabuchodonosor; the silver lamps that preceded him when he came out of his tent (x. 22); his plate, and beds, and vessels, and all his stuff, a load for several carts as well as a mule (xv. 11); and in particular the magnificent canopy under which he slept, "woven with purple, and gold, and emeralds, and precious stones" (x. 21).*

The ordinary modes of conducting a siege, and the various devices which ingenuity or circumstances dictated to overcome the resistance of the garrisoned city, are depicted in the sculptures in a curious and interesting manner. The king himself sometimes conducted the attack in person, leading on his warriors, chariots, horse and foot, archery and spear-men, and what we should call artillery. The first thing done was the construction of embankments or causeways, on which the military engines could be wheeled up to the walls; these appear to have been the more necessary on account of the mountainous character of the country in which the sieges are for the most part represented, and the advantage taken of inaccessible situations for the erection of fortresses. The causeways and the embankments appear from the bas-reliefs to have been both constructed of brick-

* This was not the *tent* of Holofernes, as Mr. Layard inadvertently states, but the drapery of his bed, which was probably like what we call a French bed, as appears by a comparison of x. 21; xiii. 2, 6, 9; xiv. 14; and xvi. 19. Similar beds, with pillars of silver, and canopies of satin or velvet, gorgeously embroidered, are used by the native princes of India.

work ; but sometimes the latter were merely heaps of earth and branches of trees, incased with bricks. These preparations being complete, the rams were dragged up to their position, and began their fatal work upon the walls or towers. Meanwhile the chariots, driven at the full speed of the horses, "raged" and "jostled one against another," seeming, from the reflection of the sun from their glittering and gilded sides, "like torches," and "running like the lightnings" (Nah. ii. 4). The scene doubtless resounded with "the noise of a whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the jumping chariots."* The warriors approaching in array discharged their clouds of arrows at the enemy on the battlements,† who, on their side,

* "The smack of the whip, and the noise of the variegated chariots as they rattle along." *Sanhitâ of the Samâ Veda* (Lond. 1842), p. 26.

† Compare the fine description of a besieging army by Æschylus,—

Hark ! fraught with war
The groaning car,
Imperial Juno ! shakes the ground :
Fierce as they pass
The wheels of brass,
Dear virgin huntress ! roar around :
The gleaming lustre of the brandish'd spear
Glazes terribly across the troubled air.
Alas my country ! must these eyes,
Must these and eyes behold thy fall ?
Ah ! what a storm of stones, that flies,
And wing'd with ruin, smites the wall !
O Phœbus ! at each crowded gate
Begins the dreadful work of fate ;
Each arm the thund'ring falchion wields,
And clashes on the sounding shields.

Seven Chiefs against Thebes, 107.

shot down, with equal energy, their shafts and javelins. The king, who usually discharged his winged shafts from his swift war-car, sometimes alighted, leaving the vehicle in the care of the charioteer, and fought on foot in the midst of the *mêlée*, like the princes and heroes of the *Iliad*. One or more saddled horses were often held in reserve by attendants, doubtless intended for the monarch's use in case of need.*

These and other circumstances proper to Assyrian sieges, and prominent in the sculptures, are alluded to in the following passage.

Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shield, nor cast a bank against it.† 2 Kings xix. 32.

If the ground permitted, scaling-ladders, differing in no respect from the ordinary construction, were planted against the walls, up which the skilled and trained warriors mounted, with but little aid from their hands, both of which were occupied with the spear and the shield. It was not the custom of the Ninevite artists to depict any mischance that befel their own side, and therefore imagination is left to supply the accidents and repulses, the wounds and

* Darius, at the battle of Issus, fought in his chariot, but his horses being wounded, he had recourse to his led horse, and fled from the field.—Q. Curt. iii.

† The following literal translation by Dr. Hincks, from a Khorsabad inscription, is beautifully illustrative of the above passage of Holy Writ, and proves how minutely accurate are the words of the Omniscient God.

"[Certain towns] which their tribute^s withheld, *I shot arrows at, I made a bank against, . . . I burned.*"—On the Khorsabad Inscriptions, p. 70.

deaths, that doubtless often befel the warriors in these perilous ascents. They are represented mounting with as much facility as if they were walking up stairs, gaining turret after turret, and driving their enemies before them almost without resistance. Sometimes the archers, taking up a commanding position on some of the precipitous heights that overlooked the fortress,—which the rocky mountainous nature of the situation commonly selected for such strongholds frequently afforded,*—thence poured in their arrowy shower with greater advantage.

Whenever it was practicable, sappers and miners directed their efforts to the undermining of the wall, or to the digging through it with their crow-bars, spears, or swords, a circumstance that indicates, as we have before observed, the frail nature of these edifices, in spite of their strong appearance. Sometimes the actual dislodgment of the bricks or stones that formed the wall, in the sculptured representations, indicates the latter mode of proceeding, at others an excavation was opened beneath it into the town. We know that this device was resorted to in ancient warfare. Fidenæ and Veii (426 and 396 B. C.) were taken by means of mines, that in the one case opening in the citadel, the other in the temple of Juno; as was also Soli, a city of Cyprus, in the Persian war, after sustaining a siege of five months.

A still more common expedient was the application of fire. The warriors, having crept up to the gates unperceived, applied torches to the doors,

* The reader may refer to the siege of Jotapata recorded by Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* III. vii. 12, 26, &c.

while they covered their own heads, and concealed their designs with their uplifted shields; and the Assyrian artists have delighted to depict the success of this stratagem, by commonly representing the red flames already rising above the gates, or pouring forth from the windows, or crowning with a many-tongued pyre the summits of the towers.

Thus Agamemnon prays to Jove:—

Let not the sun go down and night approach
Till Priam's roof fall flat into the flames,
Till I shall burn his gates with fire.—*Il.* ii. 464.

And in their turn the Trojan hosts essay, though unsuccessfully, to fire the Grecian fleet. (*Il.* xv.)*

The exploits of the spurious son of Gideon afford more than one example of the same practice, as recorded in the following very illustrative passage.

And it was told Abimelech that all the men of the tower of Shechem were gathered together. And Abimelech gat him up to mount Zalmon, he and all the people that were with him; and Abimelech took an axe in his hand, and cut down a bough from the trees, and took it, and laid it on his shoulder, and said unto the people that were with him, What ye have seen me do, make haste, and do as I have done. And all the people likewise cut down every man his bough, and followed Abimelech, and put them to the hold, and set the hold on fire upon them; so that all the men of the tower of Shechem died also, about a thousand men and women. Then went Abimelech to Thebez, and encamped against Thebez, and took it. But there was a strong tower within the city, and thither fled all

* Compare also the prayer for Greece of the Supplicants in *Æschylus*,—

Never may war

Wave round these glitt'ring tow'rs the blazing brand!—*Suppl.* 76.

And the device borne by the haughty Capaneus,—

On his proud shield pourtray'd—a naked man

Waves in his hand a blazing torch; beneath

In golden letters—"I WILL FIRE THE CITY!"

Seven Chiefs, 120.

the men and women, and all they of the city, and shut it to them, and gat them up to the top of the tower. And Abimelech came unto the tower, and fought against it, and went hard unto the door of the tower to burn it with fire. And a certain woman cast a piece of a millstone upon Abimelech's head, and all-to brake his skull. Judg. ix. 47—53.

The Assyrian bas-reliefs afford counterparts of the scene thus described, so vivid and exact that we might almost suppose them to be representations of the same historic events. The besieged city, the strong tower within, the men and *women* crowding its battlements, the fire applied to the doors, and even the huge fragment of stone dropping from the hands of one of the garrison on the heads of the assailants; all are represented to the life, just as they are here described in the narrative of inspired truth.

The army of the assaulted city often resisted the approach of the haughty invaders; and even when driven to their strongholds, the garrison, doubtless, made frequent sallies and encountered their enemies before the ramparts. The indomitable prowess of the Jews at the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, was especially displayed in their frequent and successful sallies. The details of the battle-field are depicted with grim precision by the Assyrian artists, always, however, giving the superiority in combat to their own countrymen; and that not only in the general issue, but in every example; so that no instance occurs of an Assyrian soldier being slain, or even wounded in battle. Of course this was conventional: it is the same in the Egyptian war-scenes.

In close combat the warrior most commonly

grasped his foe by the hair of his head or beard, and stabbed him in the breast or neck with his sword, or sometimes with his shortened spear. Such was the custom in Israel, as we learn from the "play" before Joab and Abner.



WARRIOR IN BATTLE.

Then there arose, and went over by number, twelve of Benjamin, which pertained to Ish-bosheth the son of Saul, and twelve of the servants of David. And they caught every one his fellow by the head, and thrust his sword in his fellow's side; so they fell down together. 2 Sam. ii. 15, 16.

And Joab himself afterwards treacherously slew Amasa by taking hold of his beard, under pretence of kissing it, and then stabbing him. (2 Sam. xx. 8—10).

Sometimes the warrior thrust his convex shield, studded with conical bosses, into his opponent's face, and thus overthrowing him, stabbed him as he

fell. Alexander the Great, when in his foolhardiness he mounted the wall of Tyre single-handed, is described by Diodorus (xvii. § 4) as "tumbling down many" of his astonished enemies "with the bosses of his buckler."

Little quarter appears to have been given in the heat of battle. We occasionally see a disarmed enemy kneeling as if to kiss his conqueror's feet in deprecation, but in vain; he thrusts his hand into the victim's hair, and the sharp sword descends upon his neck. We do not see the knees of a victor grasped by the suppliant, as Homer so often describes in the *Iliad*. The custom of stripping a slain enemy, so frequently alluded to in the same poem, may perhaps be intimated by the fact that the corpses that lie scattered over the battle-field are often entirely naked; though they are far from invariably so, and no example occurs in the sculptures of the act itself. It was not unknown in Hebrew warfare. Samson obtained "the thirty shirts (*marg.*) and thirty change of garments," his forfeit to the expounders of his riddle, from the Philistines whom he slew and stripped at Ashkelon (Judg. xiv. 19). David deprived the giant Goliath of his armour (1 Sam. xvii. 54); and Asahel was ambitious of taking the armour of so valiant a warrior as Abner (2 Sam. ii. 21). The Philistines appear to have stripped the slain after the battle (1 Sam. xxxi. 8, 9); and to have hung the armour of any enemy of renown in the temples of their idols; that of King Saul they suspended in the house of Ashtaroth.

Friends strove to pull away a comrade, when dis-

abled, from the grasp of the victor, but we do not perceive that the corpses of the slain were objects of contest, as they were at the siege of Troy.



CARRYING HEADS.

The slain, whether stripped or not, were generally beheaded; for the head was the great trophy of battle. On the field, the warriors are frequently represented running off with a severed head in each hand, probably carrying them to the officer in command, that these proofs of their prowess might be registered; and in the triumphal return, we occasionally see the chariots decorated with heads, and the soldiers bear them in their hands to scribes who take account of their number on rolls of paper or parchment. This custom was prevalent in Ancient Egypt, as is abundantly proved by the monuments of that country. Among the nations of Asia it has always been revoltingly common, from the earliest times to the present.

David severed the head of Goliath, and bore it in triumph to the camp of Israel (1 Sam. xvii. 57); and Judith did the same with the head of Holofernes (Judith xiii. 8, 15). A still more remarkable example is the action of Jehu, described in the following passage.

And he that was over the house, and he that was over the city, the elders also, and the bringers-up of the children, sent to Jehu, saying, We are thy servants, and will do all that thou shalt bid us; we will not make any king: do thou that which is good in thine eyes. Then he wrote a letter the second time to them, saying, If ye be mine, and if ye will hearken unto my voice, take ye the heads of the men your master's sons, and come to me to Jezreel by to-morrow this time. (Now the king's sons, being seventy persons, were with the great men of the city, which brought them up.) And it came to pass, when the letter came to them, that they took the king's sons, and slew seventy persons, and put their heads in baskets, and sent him them to Jezreel. And there came a messenger, and told him, saying, They have brought the heads of the king's sons. And he said, Lay ye them in two heaps at the entering in of the gate until the morning. 2 Kings x. 5—8.

In 1401, when Bagdad fell under the power of Tamerlane the Tartar, a pyramid of ninety thousand human heads displayed the horrible vengeance of that vindictive conqueror. The Persian monarchs frequently have demanded a pyramid of this repulsive character from some town or village that has incurred their displeasure; and Sir John Malcolm tells us that the executioners exhibit such professional indifference to the barbarity of the sentence, as to select the most picturesque head and most noble beard to grace the summit of the monument.

“Heads are always regarded as the best trophies of victory in the East. The heads of enemies slain in battle, of robbers, and of persons who have been

put to death by the royal order, are presented to the king, and afterwards deposited at his palace-gate. If there is but one head, or only a few, they are fixed at some conspicuous part of the gate; and at the grand entrance to the Sultan's palace (seraglio) at Constantinople, there are niches appropriated to this purpose. When they are more numerous, they are heaped up on each side of the gate. . . Sometimes the Oriental conquerors desire to form such heads into permanent monuments of the transaction; and this is usually done by erecting pillars for the purpose, and inlaying them with the heads of the slain. There are several of these savage monuments in Persia and Turkey. The most recent known to us are the two pillars which were erected about [thirty] years ago on each side of the way, near one of the gates of Bagdad, and which are inlaid with the heads of two hundred Khezail Arabs, slain or captured in an engagement with the troops of the Pasha."*

"In Persia it is not unusual, in time of war, for the king or prince in command to offer a reward, sometimes as high as five pounds,† for every head of

* Dr. Kitto, *Pict. Bible*, ii. 242.

† Court of Persia, p. 66. In the war between Russia and Persia, on the occasion of a small advantage gained by the latter, Mr. Morier observes,—"One of the articles of capitulation was that their heads were not to be cut off; an act which in Persian and Turkish warfare is a common custom. During this fight ten tomauns were given for every head of the enemy that was brought to the prince; and it has been known to occur, after the combat was over, that prisoners have been put to death in cold blood, in order that the heads, which are immediately despatched to the king, and deposited in heaps at the palace gate, might make a more considerable show."—*Second Journey*, p. 186.

the enemy brought to him; and instances are on record of kings sitting in state to receive the heads piled around in heaps by thousands, and supervise the distribution of the reward. Under such a system, the soldiers will take care not to encumber themselves with prisoners, unless a higher prize is offered for a live enemy than for the head of a dead one."

It is probable that this latter alternative was the case in the Kouyunjik era, for in the battle scenes of that palace, the Assyrian warriors are depicted as dragging through the mountain-forests prisoners, whose beards they grasp with one hand, while they carry the head of a slaughtered enemy in the other.

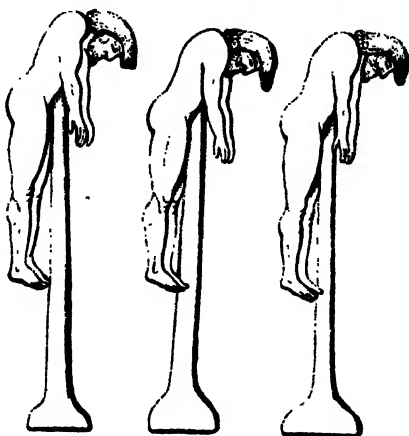
The terrible death of impalement was inflicted by the Assyrian conquerors upon their victims in all ages of their empire; though from the rarity of the representations we may suppose that it was not very common, and marked cases of peculiar exasperation. Perhaps it was mostly reserved for the leaders of rebellion. According to Diodorus (ii. §1) Ninus impaled Pharnus, the king of Media. Astyages impaled the Magi, who had counselled him to let Cyrus live * Histæus, the designing Milesian, was impaled by Harpagus, the Persian general, into whose hands he had fallen.† Three thousand of the principal citizens of Babylon were put to this horrible death by Darius, when that queenly city fell into his hands.‡ Perhaps we see an increasing partiality for the infliction of the cruel punish-

* Herod. i. 120.

† Ibid vi. 30.

‡ Ibid iii. 159.

ment, in the greater numbers who are represented as suffering it in the later sculptures, preparing the way for so wholesale an atrocity as that of the exasperated Persian.



PRISONERS IMPALED.

The mode in which this punishment was executed was different from that adopted by the Romans, and used with such cruel frequency by the sanguinary Nero. A sharp stake, about nine feet high, was set in a large solid foot, perhaps of metal, sufficiently heavy to maintain it erect; the point of the stake entered the breast of the victim, whose feet hung down its side, when it was erected.

It is not unnecessarily to harrow the feelings of our readers that we detail these cruelties; but to show what were the manners of the Assyrian people, and how truly the inspired prophet designated them,

when he denounced "Woe to the *bloody city*" (Nahum iii. 1). The artists of the monarch, we must remember, embodied these details in the sculptured and pictured scenes, which were to embellish his palace walls, and in the contemplation of which he saw nothing to be ashamed of, but rather subjects of delight and exultation.

The same argument must be our apology for the presentation of another series of facts, shocking to our feelings, but of great value as illustrative and confirmatory of the inspired Word of God.

In one of the bas-reliefs from the Palace at Khor-sabad, among many captives led away by the victors, there are two of particular interest. Most of the figures are more or less defective, owing to the crumbled state of the sculpture; particularly in the upper parts, where few are perfect. They appear all to have been fettered with heavy manacles, uniting together the ankles and the wrists. The two alluded to, seem from their fringed and tasselled robes to be prisoners of consequence, but they are led in the most barbarous manner. A ring or hook has been passed through the lower lip, and apparently *through the jaw* of each captive, and a line being attached to each hook, is connected to a stouter line, by which they are dragged into the presence of the king. They are both blindfolded,* the head being covered with a close cap, which

* They covered Haman's face (Esth. vii. 8). Philotas, similarly hurled from the height of prosperity to the depth of degradation, was brought into Alexander's presence, with his hands bound, and his head covered with an old veil.—Quint. Curt. vi. 9.

descends over the eyes. The piteous helplessness of a blinded person, with the fore-part of the body slightly bent forward, and the face upturned, is well depicted; though this position may be partly owing to the chin being dragged forward by the line and hook.*

Another captive is kneeling in front of these two, between them and the king; but the sculpture is too much defaced to enable us to say anything about him. This defect is, however, fortunately supplied by the repetition of the same scene, in another hall of the same palace, in which, though the figures are in some respects more defaced than in the former, yet some particulars are preserved in which the other is lacking. By this we are able to add some circumstances of additional barbarity to this painful scene. The kneeling captive, like his two fellows that stand behind him, has the ring in his jaw, and the line from him as well as that from the others, is held in the king's left hand. In his right hand, the monarch holds his uplifted spear, and with the utmost calmness deprives his prisoner of sight, the point of the spear being in the act of entering the eye of the wretched victim.

Several allusions occur in the sacred Scriptures to the practice of inserting a hook into the jaws or nose of a captive; such as the following, which are the more to the point that the majority of them refer either directly to the haughty Sennacherib, or to the captivity of Israel and Judah by Assyria and Babylon.

* Botta, pl. 83.



KING BLINDING A CAPTIVE CHIEF.*

Because thy rage against me and thy tumult is come up into mine ears, therefore I will put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest. 2 Kings. xix. 28.

The nations also heard of him ; he was taken in their pit, and they brought him with chains [*lit.* hooks] unto the land of Egypt. Ezek. xix. 4.

And they put him in ward in chains [*lit.* hooks] and brought him to the king of Babylon ; they brought him into holds, that his voice should no more be heard upon the mountains of Israel. Ezek. xix. 9.

Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself. But I will put hooks in thy jaws. Ezek. xxix. 3, 4.

* The engraving gives the scene *as restored*, by a study of both of the bas-reliefs referred to in the text.

The Lord God hath sworn by his holiness, that, lo, the days shall come upon you, that he will take you away with hooks, and your posterity with fishhooks. Amos iv. 2.

I will turn thee back, and put hooks into thy jaws. Ezek. xxxviii. 4.

Col. Rawlinson has seen an example of the *nose-hook* spoken of in the first of these passages, engraved on a triumphal tablet near Holwan at the foot of Mount Zagros; remarkable as the earliest Babylonian record known.

"I discovered this tablet," he observes, "on the occasion of my last visit to Behistun; and, with the help of a telescope, for there are no possible means of ascending the rock, succeeded in taking a copy of such portions of the writing as are legible. On the tablet itself, a figure, clad in sacerdotal costume and apparently an eunuch, is presenting to the monarch a throng of captives, who are chained together, their arms being bound behind them, and rings being fastened in their nostrils, to which the leading-string is attached."*

It is impossible to look on the wretched captive in the Khorsabad scene above described, blinded by the king's own hand, without being forcibly reminded of the lot of Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, when his capital and his kingdom were taken from him. It had been predicted by Jeremiah (xxxii. 4) that he should speak with the king of Babylon mouth to mouth, and that his eyes should behold his eyes; and by Ezekiel (xii. 13) that he should be brought to Babylon, yet that he should not see it, though he should die there. Josephus says that these pro-

* On the Cuneiform Inscriptions, p. 76.

phacies appeared to the Hebrew king so contradictory that he believed neither; yet were they fulfilled to the letter.

And the army of the Chaldees pursued after the king, and overtook him in the plains of Jericho: and all his army were scattered from him. So they took the king, and brought him up to the king of Babylon to Riblah; and they gave judgment upon him. And they slew the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes, and put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him with fetters of brass, and carried him to Babylon. 2 Kings xxv. 5—7.

This practice of blinding prisoners of eminence has always been prevalent in the East. Diodorus (ii. § 1) describes Ninus the first Assyrian king as threatening to put out the eyes of the too tenacious husband of Semiramis. Samson, it will be remembered, was deprived of his eyes by his Philistine captors (Judg. xvi. 21). Unsuccessful aspirants to the throne, or persons who may become rival claimants are commonly so treated, especially in Persia, where blindness is considered to incapacitate for royal functions; "and therefore, in Persia, it has, until the present century, been usual for the kings, not, as in Turkey, to slay, but to blind those whose claims to the throne might possibly trouble the existing possessor. Hence, it was the rule for a king, on coming to the throne, to deprive all his brothers of sight, to incapacitate them from giving him any disturbance."*

The story told by Mrs. M'Neil will recur to some of our readers. This lady, the wife of the British ambassador to the Persian court, was one day in

* Kitto, *Court of Persia*, p. 68.

the royal harem, when she observed one of the young princes, a fine lad about ten years old, groping about with a handkerchief over his eyes. When asked what he was doing, he replied, that he knew that when his father died his eyes would be put out by his eldest brother, who would succeed to the throne; and he was trying how he should be able to do without them. The privation of sight has, however, sometimes been inflicted by Oriental despots in a far more wholesale manner. Nahash the Ammonite threatened to thrust out the right eyes of all the men of Jabesh Gilead (1 Sam. xi. 2); and it is recorded in the modern history of Persia that Aga Mohammed Khan, in 1795, deprived of sight seven thousand of the inhabitants of the city of Kerman, exacting as a revolting tax a certain number of pounds' weight of human eyes.

Zedekiah is described as bound with fetters of brass; as is also Samson; and this agrees with the records of the Assyrian sculptures, in which are frequently represented lines of captives bound with heavy manacles upon the hands and feet. These consisted of a massive ring around each wrist and ankle, the pair being united by a bolt having a thick ring at each end; that for the feet just long enough to allow the prisoner a short step. In this condition, (the hands, however, in some cases, being tied behind the back,) the prisoners of distinction were driven or dragged into the king's presence like cattle in a line, in a single rope, a loop of which was passed round each neck. And this is probably what is meant when the Syrians under Benhadad

are described as putting "ropes on their heads" in appealing to the compassion of the king of Israel (1 Kings xx. 32). "The messengers voluntarily appeared before Ahab in the same fashion as that in which it was usual to present captives to their conqueror, to receive from him the award of life or death."*



PRISONER MANACLED.

This custom of tying together in one rope the captive chiefs, was either common to other nations, or else passed from the Assyrians to their successors in empire. In the famous Persian sculpture at Behistun, commemorating the success of Darius over some dangerous insurrections, the rebellious chiefs are represented before him, bound in line in this manner, while the monarch treads one of them in the dust with his uplifted foot.

The Assyrian monarch sometimes displayed his supremacy over a conquered chief by placing his foot on the neck of his prostrate captive, as represented in a bas-relief found at Khorsabad.† This illustrates the words of David,—“Thou hast also given me the necks of mine enemies, that I might destroy them that hate me” (2 Sam. xxii. 41). And still more remarkably does it illustrate the command of Joshua after the conquest of the ten Canaanitish kings at Gibeon.

And it came to pass, when they brought out those kings unto Joshua,

* Kitto, Pict. Bible, ii. 210.

† Botta, pl. 82.

that Joshua called for all the men of Israel, and said unto the captains of the men of war which went with him, Come near, put your feet upon the necks of these kings. And they came near, and put their feet upon the necks of them. Josh. x. 24.

One example of a horrible punishment occurs in a Khorsabad sculpture, to which Sacred History affords no counterpart, though profane history does. A man, evidently alive, is stretched on a slab or table, with his limbs extended and pinioned to pegs, while an executioner is occupied in flaying him with a small semicircular knife. What was the nature of the crime which demanded so barbarous a sentence, we have no means of determining.

Cambyzes is reported to have flayed a judge for bribery; and the skin, cut into thongs, he stretched over the judgment seat, as a perpetual warning to his successor.*

Homer makes Antinous threaten Ulysses with this dreadful fate, to the horror even of the abandoned suitors.†

In our own country this punishment was formerly inflicted for sacrilege, the skin of the criminal being nailed *in terrorem* to the church-door. In several cases portions of skin to which tradition assigns such an origin, still adhere to the doors, and specimens, having been lately submitted to Mr. Quekett, the Secretary of the Microscopical Society of London, have been proved indisputably to be human skin.‡

Herodotus (iv. 64) describes the process, as practised by the ancient Scythians, with considerable

* Herod. v. 25.

† Odyss. xvii. 571.

‡ See Trans. of Micr. Soc.

minuteness. In ancient Hindoostan, it was the punishment prescribed for night-robbers.*

The bulk of the common people, men, women and children, were driven into slavery upon the fall of their city or country: and this deportation of captives is very frequently repeated on the Assyrian sculptures. They afford us a valuable exhibition of the manner and circumstances of Israel's captivity. Rabshakeh, in order to persuade the inhabitants of Jerusalem to open their gates to him, had painted their removal in somewhat attractive colours.

Hearken not to Hezekiah: for thus saith the king of Assyria, Make an agreement with me by a present, and come out to me, and then eat ye every man of his own vine, and every one of his fig-tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his cistern: until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil olive and of honey, that ye may live, and not die. 2 Kings xviii. 31, 32.

But the sure word of Jehovah had written far other things, and had declared beforehand how bitter was the cup of degradation and bondage prepared for his incorrigible people.

And it shall come to pass, that instead of sweet smell, there shall be stink; and instead of a girdle, a rent; and instead of well-set hair, baldness; and instead of a stomacher, a girding of sackcloth; and burning instead of beauty. Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war. And her gates shall lament and mourn; and she being desolate shall sit upon the ground. Isa. iiii. 24—26.

Therefore my people are gone into captivity, because they have no knowledge: and their honourable men are famished, and their multitude dried up with thirst. Therefore hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure: and their glory, and their multitude, and

* Instit. of Menu, ix. 276. See also the Mahābhārata (Price's translation), p. 9.

their pomp, and he that rejoiceth, shall descend into it. And the mean man shall be brought down, and the mighty man shall be humbled, and the eyes of the lofty shall be humbled. Isa. v. 13—15.

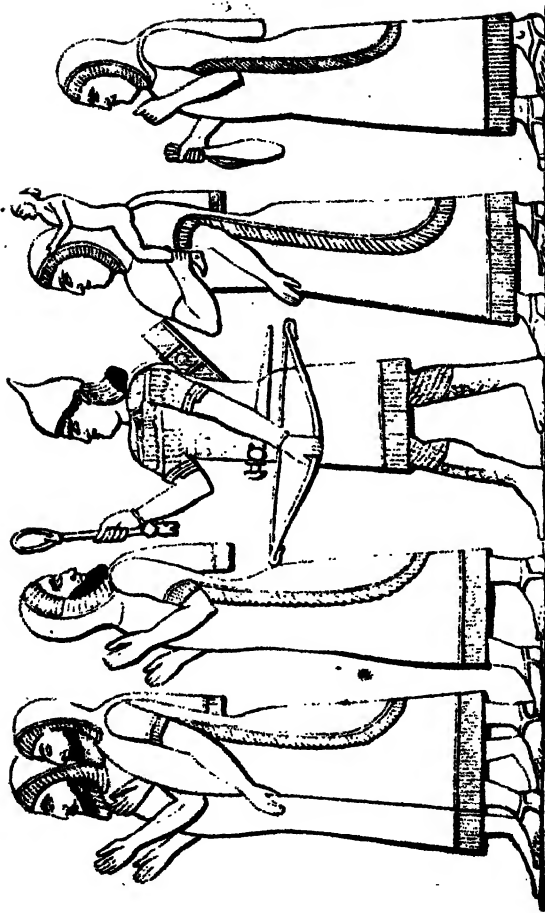
Therefore as the fire devoureth the stubble, and the flame consumeth the chaff, so their root shall be as rottenness, and their blossom shall go up as dust : because they have cast away the law of the LORD of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel. Isa. v. 24.

Yea, thou shalt go forth from him, and *thine hands upon thine head* : for the LORD hath rejected thy confidences, and thou shalt not prosper in them. Jer. ii. 37.

And I will turn your feasts into morning, and all your songs into lamentation ; and I will bring up sackcloth upon all loins, and baldness upon every head ; and I will make it as the mourning of an only son, and the end thereof as a bitter day. Amos viii. 10.

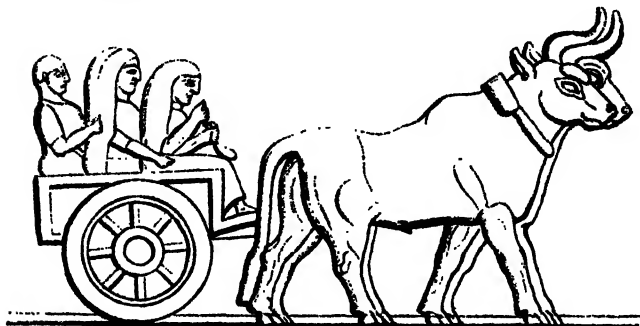
And though they go into captivity before their enemies, thence will I command the sword, and it shall slay them : and I will set mine eyes upon them for evil, and not for good. Amos ix. 4.

The bas-reliefs afford us abundant illustrations of these statements. We see the unhappy people driven along under the blows and indignities of the brutal soldiery ; the men manacled, the women with *their hands upon their head*, or else leading their children, or carrying the younger ones on their shoulders. Sometimes we see them loaded with their own provisions, water-pitchers, and goods, like beasts of burthen ; their oxen, camels, sheep, and goats driven off with them to the country of their captivity. We see their city in flames behind them, while the desolation of their country is marked by the palm-trees cut down and lying on the ground. We see them exhausted on their toilsome journey, *sitting on the bare earth*, with no shelter for their defenceless heads, as they drink from their pitchers, or give their crying children suck from their drying breasts.



CAPTIVES.

It would seem however that mercy, or perhaps self-interest, prompted the accommodation of a vehicle for such as were too feeble to pursue the journey on foot. Carts, each drawn by two bullocks, yoked to the pole, are depicted, containing women and young children.*



CAPTIVES IN CARTS.

The transportation of the captives of conquered countries to the land of the victors was the usual policy of the Assyrian monarchs. In the Inscription on the Black Obelisk, Temen-bar constantly records how he carried into slavery into his country of Assyria the conquered chiefs, their wives, their sons and daughters, their servants, their men of war, their gods, and all their treasures. Sometimes, however, the captured cities were given up to be pillaged by the soldiers.

* Bullock-carts appear to have been the ordinary vehicles used for peaceful purposes in ancient times. That they were used by the Philistines we know both from Scripture (1 Sam. vi. 7) and from Egyptian monuments; and the Ramayana, a Hindoo epic poem of a very early era, speaks of "vehicles covered with woollen cloth, drawn by white oxen," (book i. § 18) for the accommodation of females of distinction.

The Babylonians followed the example of the Assyrians (2 Kings xxv. xxvi.); and the Persians, when they became a conquering people, imitated their predecessors in empire. Thus we learn from Herodotus (vi. 20) that they carried the inhabitants of Miletus to Susa, when they were settled by Darius on the borders of the Persian Gulf.

The plunder found in a conquered city was of course eagerly taken and carried away by the victors. It seems, however, not to have been the promiscuous property of those who seized it, but to have been subject to a prescribed division. For this purpose it was all brought to a common rendezvous, where eunuch-scribes, registered on rolls of leather or papyrus the amount of spoil collected. From the Khorsabad bas-relief representing the plunder of the city Mekhatseri,* it appears that this scrutiny was not confined to the cattle, but extended to the valuables found in the houses, as metals, &c., which were weighed in large scales.

In the early history of Israel there was a distinction made between the "prey," and the "spoil" (Numb. xxxi. 11). The former, including the cattle and the captives, was divided into two parts (ver. 27), one of which was allotted to the army, and the other to the whole nation besides: the latter, including all other kinds of moveable property, was the booty of any warrior who could seize it (ver. 53). But, according to Rabbinical authority, another usage prevailed, after the monarchy was established; the "spoil" belonged to the king, and half of the

* Botta, pls. 140, 141.

"prey" also, the other half of the latter alone belonging to the army. This would require such a registry of the whole, as we see took place in Assyria.

Some such arrangement was customary among the early Greeks; as we learn from Homer. The "king of men" receives all the spoil, and apportions it as he pleases. Thus Achilles complains:—

I have destroyed
Twelve cities with my fleet, and twelve, save one,
On foot contending in the fields of Troy.
From all these cities precious spoils I took
Abundant, and to Agamemnon's hand
Gave all the treasure. He within his ships
Abode the while, and, having all received,
Little distributed, and much retained. Il. ix. 396.

Even after the distribution, it was competent for the king to reclaim what he would;* though it was esteemed unjust and odious to exercise this power.

By the Laws of Menu, "cars, horses, elephants, umbrellas, habiliments, *except the jewels which may adorn them*, grain, cattle, women, all sorts of liquids and metals, *except gold and silver*, are the lawful prizes of the man who takes them in war. But of those prizes, the captors must lay the most valuable before the king; . . . and the king should distribute among the whole army what has not been separately taken" (vii. 96, 97).

The various kinds of prey and spoil taken are shown in the Assyrian sculptures, with considerable detail. Human captives, neat-cattle (chiefly bulls,

* Il. i. 150, 164, 400.

of noble appearance), sheep and goats, are among the former, and (in the Kouyunjik sculptures) horses, but not camels, or asses. Among the latter are idols, shields, caldrons, large and small vases, heavy bales or cubical masses, perhaps of rough metal,* couches, resembling our sofas, bags (perhaps of money, see Gen. xlii. 35; 2 Kings v. 23; Is. xlvi. 6; Prov. vii. 20; Hag. i. 6; &c.), elephants' teeth, sticks or billets, probably of ebony or other precious wood, and objects bearing some resemblance to hanks of raw silk, as now imported* from China.

The articles most frequently introduced of all these are *caldrons*, which hence, and from the apparent eagerness with which they are carried off, we may suppose to have been greatly valued. They are of various sizes, mostly large, circular, flattish at the bottom, without feet, furnished at the rim with ears or rings to receive an arched handle, or a hooked chain. We have thus a curious illustration of Ho-



STOIL AND PREY.

* Rough iron in the mass.—*N.* xxiii. 322.

meric manners, in which caldrons, (strangely, according to our notions,) figure conspicuously among the things most highly prized by warriors. Thus the "gifts inestimable" proffered by Agamemnon to soothe the wrath of offended Achilles are thus enumerated :—

Seven tripods, never sullied yet with fire ;
Of gold ten talents ; *twenty caldrons bright* ;
Twelve coursers, strong, victorious in the race ; . . .
Seven well-born female captives, &c.

Il. ix. 147.

So, too, in the prizes of the chariot-race that celebrated the funeral of Patroclus,—

A caldron of four measures, never smirch'd
By smoke or flame, but fresh as from the forge,
The third awaited.

Il. xxiii. 328.

The comparative value of this useful article is indicated by the place it occupies in relation to the other prizes, which were, i. a damsel and a tripod ; ii. a pregnant mare ; iii. the caldron in question ; iv. two talents of gold ; v. a twin-eared phial (*φιάλη*). And finally, the prize which fell to the lot of Atrides himself as the best spearman of the Grecian host, was

A caldron yet unfired,
Embossed with flowers around, *its worth an ox.*

Il. xxiii. 1054.

The horrors of a sacked city,—the conflagration, the slaughter, the plunder, the rapine — are thus finely painted in a vivid passage of *Æschylus* ;—which in almost every image illustrates the Assyrian bas-reliefs.

* From house to house, from street to street,
 The crashing flames roar round, and meet ;
 Each way the fiery deluge preys,
 And girds up with the circling blaze.
 The brave, that, 'midst these dire alarms,
 For their lost country greatly dare,
 And, fired with vengeance, rush to arms,
 Fall victims to the blood-stain'd spear.
 The bleeding babe, with innocent cries,
 Drops from his mother's breast, and dies.
 See, rapine rushes, bent on prey,
 His hasty step brooks no delay.
 The spoiler, loaded with his store,
 Envious the loaded spoiler views ;
 Disdains another should have more,
 And his insatiate toil renews.

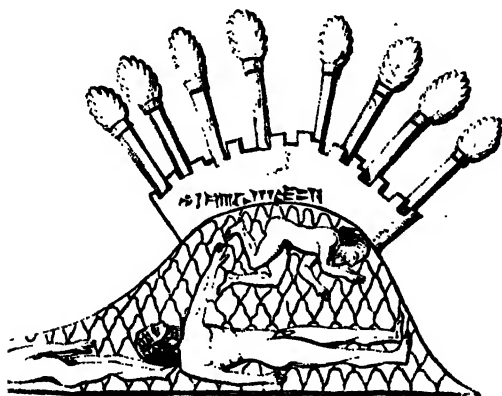
Thick on the earth the rich spoil lies :
 For the rude plund'ers' restless-rolling tide,
 Their worthless numbers waving wide,
 Drop in their wild haste many a glitt'ring prize ;
 Whilst, in her chaste apartment bred,
 The trembling virgin captive led,
 Pours, in the anguish of her soul, the tear ;
 And, torn from all her heart holds dear,
 The youthful bride, a novice yet in woe,
 Obeys the haughty, happy foe.

Seren Chiefs against Thebes, 115.

It is not improbable that the Assyrians were accustomed to convey rapid intelligence of an important victory by a system of telegraphic signals communicated from one hill-top to another. One of the Khorsabad sculptures* apparently represents such a practice. A chariot containing a warrior, with his shield-bearer and charioteer, is pursuing the flying foe, over a field strewn with the headless corpses of the slain. A hill

* Botta, pl. 76.

rises from the plain, the summit of which is crowned with a curious structure, consisting of many sockets, into which are set flaming torches, in such a manner that their burning heads diverge from each other, so as to be more distinctly seen at a distance. In both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* we find allusions to torches placed on the tops of hills to convey information of certain events.



TORCH-SIGNAL.

Situated so far inland as Assyria proper was, we should not expect to find her the possessor of much maritime power;* and though, as the limits of the empire extended, they reached, probably at an early period, the shores of the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea,

* Naval warfare was, however, waged in very early times. A sea-fight between the Egyptians and the Philistines is represented on the monuments of the fourth *Ramesses*: and a maritime expedition with troops in a ship of a hundred oars is spoken of in the oldest of the *Vedas*. *Wilson's Rig Veda*, p. 306.

the Mediterranean, the Caspian, and perhaps the Black Sea, the maritime nations lying on these coasts were doubtless approached and subjugated by armies from within, and not by fleets from without. The Prophet Isaiah, indeed, speaks of "the Chaldeans, whose cry is in the ships" (xliii. 14); but this rather refers to the Babylonians than the Assyrians. In the earlier monuments we find no representation of naval scenes; and the vessels depicted are only those proper to rivers. One of these represents the crossing of a river by the king on a martial expedition. The royal chariot was placed in a boat, and the king stood in it as if it had been on land, though the horses were unharnessed, and swam behind, attached to the boat by ropes tied round the lower jaw; some of the high officers accompanied the monarch. Other boats of a smaller size, contained two chariots, but no passengers; the warriors generally crossing the stream either by swimming, or on the inflated skins of beasts, a device still practised on most of the rivers of Asia. The skin of a goat is stripped off with as little opening as possible; then the orifices of the neck and legs are sewn up, one only being left, through which air is introduced from the breath of the operator. The process of inflation with the mouth, and of securing the orifice by a twist of the thumb, until it can be tied, are distinctly represented in the sculptures.

When we remember what Herodotus tells us of Xerxes' army crossing the Hellespont under the lash (vii. 56), it is interesting to see in this bas-

relief the Assyrian warriors stimulated to take the water by the threat of corporal punishment; an officer with a rod, and an eunuch *with a whip*, both



KING CROSSING A RIVER.

in a menacing attitude, standing behind them as they make their preparations.

The boats are of the primitive form described by the same historian,* and apparently constructed in the same manner: two men row face to face, and in the larger there is a steersman with a long oar

* "The vessels that sail down the river to Babylon are circular, and made of skin. For having cut the ribs out of willows that grow in Armenia, they cover them with hides extended on the outside, by way of a bottom; neither making any distinction in the stern, nor contracting the prow, but making them circular like a buckler. The bottom is lined with reeds, and in these boats they carry merchandise, chiefly palm-wine. They use two oars, the men standing^o upright, one pulling, the other pushing from him. On their arrival they sell the cargo, the wooden ribs, and the reeds, and having packed up the skin lay it on an ass, and return by land to Armenia."—Herod. i. 194.

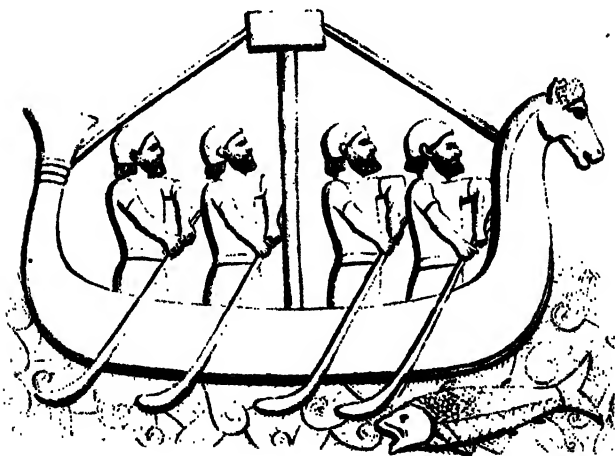
passing through a loop on a sort of stern-post. Men in a state of nudity, wading through the shallows, aid the rowers by towing the boat with ropes over their shoulders.

In the later era of Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, naval scenes and operations are recorded, and ships of more elaborate form and structure, and better suited to maritime navigation, are introduced. They are, however, the ships of foreign nations, either in alliance with, or in hostility to, the Assyrian power, native ships being, of course, out of the question in a country having no sea-coast.

In the palace at Khorsabad, M. Botta discovered a bas-relief of great interest representing the preparations for attacking a fortified place built in the sea. These include the procuring and bringing of large beams of timber from the mountains to the sea-shore, the transportation of them in galleys to the place of destination, the unlading of them there, and the construction by their means of a bridge or pier by which the island fortress might be approached. The ships are merely transports, no naval engagements being represented on any discovered Assyrian monument.

The scene is elaborately represented, and occupies five slabs. The first is greatly defaced, but enough remains to enable us to discern its general import. A mountainous region is depicted, in which are seen many men dragging and carrying huge beams, all in the same direction. They appear to work in gangs; the first man holds in his hands a stout rope, which, passing over his shoulder, hangs

down in a bight behind him, and then passes over the shoulder of the next, and forms another bight, and so on; the beam is suspended at length in the successive bights, and is thus borne along. At that extremity of the slab towards which the workmen go, there is a row of many beams placed side by side, probably indicating that they were stored in piles on the shore, in readiness for embarkation.



TRANSPORT GALLEY.

The next three slabs are occupied with the transport. The scene is evidently the sea; for the series of convoluted lines which Assyrian artists conventionally used to convey the idea of water, are not made to flow in one general direction, with spiral eddies here and there, as when a river is intended, but cross each other in all possible directions, doubt-

less to express the irregular tossing waves of the sea, not governed by any perceptible current. Two fortresses are represented at some distance from each other, of which the first is situated on an island-mountain and the other on a foundation of masonry, but little raised above the level of the water. The fortifications consist of two tiers of towers, one over the other, probably intended for an inner and an outer wall; each is completely surrounded by the sea. No armed men, nor inhabitants of any kind are seen in or about them; they are evidently not the objects of the expedition, for the fleet of galleys sails peacefully past the one and the other without notice.

The vessels are all of the same form and construction. They are rounded at both extremities, which are bent upward to a great elevation. The prow is formed into the head of a horse, the forehead of which is armed with the usual massive frontlet, of scales in most instances, but in some of overlapping plates. The stern is equally lofty, and after tapering, terminates in an abrupt triangular dilatation, doubtless in imitation of the tail of a fish; so that we may suppose the form of the ship was intended to represent that of a marine monster, like those which were believed to draw Neptune's car, half horse, half fish. They seem not to have been decked, the rowers standing in the bottom, and using their oars over the gunwale of the galley. No row-locks or thole-pins are represented, nor any loop or other contrivance by which the oars were kept in their places; the action, how-

ever, forbids the supposition that they were used as paddles, as does also their great length. They are slender, dilated at the extremity, and slightly curved back. The rowers are four or five in number, all rowing on the same side; but probably those of the other side are purposely omitted, and the number may be conventional. They all face the forepart of the ship, so that the impulse must have been given by a forward stroke, a pushing rather than pulling, contrary to what is usual amongst us; and they all *stand* to row.*

The beams of timber, hewn and squared, were partly stowed on board and partly towed behind, each vessel. The former are represented as resting on the elevated prow and stern, no rope or any other mode of confinement being drawn, to show how they were retained in that situation. It is, however, quite unlikely that they were really so placed, both on account of the narrowness of the points on which they would rest, and also from the great weight, which would at such an elevation endanger the safety of the ship, if not render it impossible for her to maintain her upright position. Hence we may believe with M. Botta, that we have here one of those instances of false perspective, which are so common in both Egyptian and Assyrian art,

* Perhaps to give more force to the stroke ;—as we find in Apollonius Rhodius:—

While yet their arms each forceful oar extend,
With struggling hand uprear'd Alcides stood,
And shakes firm Argo's well-compacted wood.

Argon. (Greene) i. 136.

This is still a common mode of rowing upon the Swiss lakes.

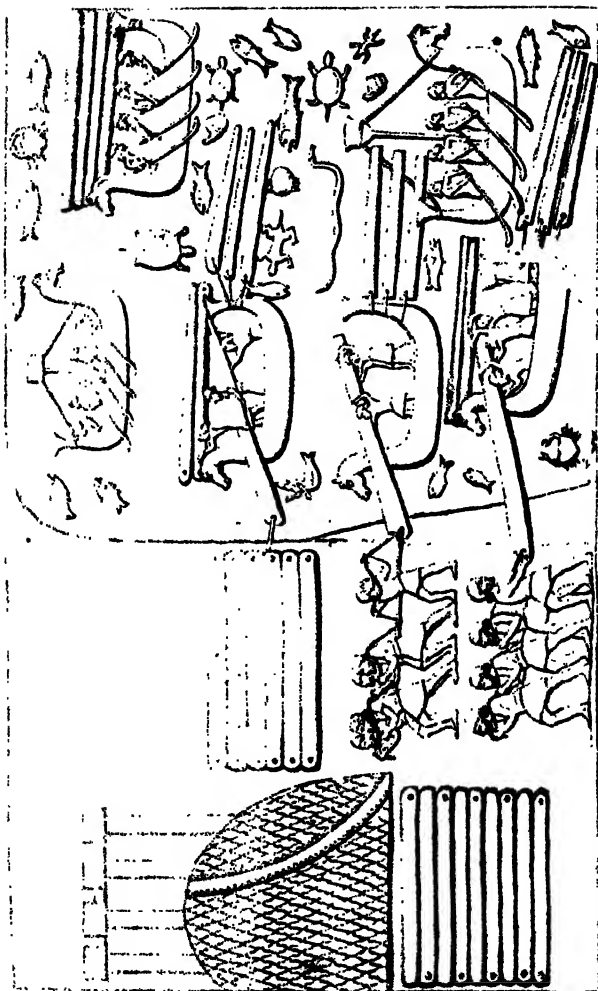
and that these beams were either stowed in the bottom of the vessel itself, or fastened along the sides. About the others there can be but one opinion. A hole having been bored through one end of each beam, a rope was passed through it, and fastened to the stern-post, and thus three timbers, floating in the sea, were towed behind.

It is interesting to find that the manner of transporting timber here represented, is still common in the same region. The learned discoverer remarks that "the pieces of timber which even at the present day arrive at Mosul from the mountains of Koordistan are pierced in the same way at one of their extremities, through which is passed a cord for the purpose of dragging them through the forests to the spot where they are formed into rafts which descend the Tigris."*

At the extremity of the fourth slab the fleet has reached its destination. The ships are run up towards the beach prow foremost, as near as their draught of water will allow, and unlade their cargoes. The beams on board are first discharged; the men lifting them out, on their shoulders and in their arms, and pushing them on to the shore; where others (the crews of the other galleys), forming themselves into gangs with ropes over their shoulders, receive the beams into the bights, and partly drag and partly carry them away in the same manner as at first.

We are thus brought to the last slab, which is unfortunately defective in the very part of greatest

* Mon. de Nin. v. 101.



NAVAL EXPEDITION.

interest. For here was represented the fortified place, which was the object of the expedition; it was situated upon a mountain, up which a road, apparently bounded by a battlemented wall on each side, led to the gate. The fortress itself is wholly gone; M. Bottu concludes from the part of the slab that remains, that the water originally extended above it, and that the sculptor intended to depict it as isolated in the midst of the waves.

At the base of the hill on which the city stood, the beams are ranged in parallel series, with great regularity, the perforated end of each being turned to the right and left alternately. This may be considered to express the commencement of a strong bridge or pier, by which alone the besieging army could approach the walls; the construction of which was so indispensable as to warrant all the labour and time and expense evidently incurred in the transport of the timber. Another such pier is partially seen at another quarter of the fortress, which was probably assailed from several points; if this latter is not rather the pile of timber laid down as brought from the vessels, ready for the use of the engineers.

We have hitherto spoken only of the outward fleet; but other ships are represented, sailing in the opposite direction, doubtless returning for another cargo. These are of exactly the same form and size as the former, but they exhibit this difference, that whereas the laden ships are moved only by oars, and are not furnished with a mast, the latter make use of both these means of progression. This is an ad-

ditional reason for thinking that the timber was stowed in the bottom of the ship rather than over the sides, for its presence there might easily interfere with the mast, which was therefore unstepped. In returning, however, it resumes its position, a single spar rising from the centre of the ship,* bearing a watching-tub, or "crow's-nest" at its summit, and supported by two stays going respectively to the prow and to the stern. The appendages at the mast-head are of two forms; one of these is shaped like an inverted bell, the same form as we find in the Egyptian naval sculptures, in the war-ships of the Shairdana (Sidonians?) and Palishta (Philistines), as well as those of the Egyptians;† the other is square. The fastening of the stays goes around the former, but with the latter they are connected only by the two lower corners. Hence M. Botta suggests, that this square object is a sail, concealing the *crow's-nest*, and that, if so, the stays are none other than the braces which trim the sail. "Doubtless," he observes,

* The mast was usually capable of being put up or taken out at will:—

They obedient rear'd
The pine-tree mast, which in its socket deep
They lodged. *Odys.* ii. 532.
With cords affix'd they rear thy tow'ring grace,
Thou solid mast. *Apoll. Rhod.* (Greene) i. 94.

† We learn from Euripides (*Hecub.* 1237, with the Schol.) and other authors, that the ancient galleys were furnished with a structure of this sort, fashioned like a drinking-cup, and called *ναγξόσκιον*. The mariners ascended into it to manage the sail, to keep watch, and to discharge missiles, just as we see them represented in the Egyptian sculptures. It was sometimes made of bronze, and was sufficiently large to contain two, or even three men,

"it appears very small, but it is evident that ancient sculptors paid as little attention to proportion as to perspective; these very bas-reliefs give us proofs of this, and the minuteness of the sail is not a sufficient reason for rejecting the supposition." This suggestion (which, however, does not appear to us altogether worthy of reliance) is considered by its author to receive confirmation from the action of a person in one of the returning vessels, who probably represents the master or pilot. He is loosening the fastening, or *belaying*, of the rope which passes from one angle of the (supposed) sail to the stern-post, in order to trim the sail. A similar person, arrayed in robes superior to those of the common sailors, is seen in one of the arrived galleys, superintending the unloading of the timber; and in one of those that are receiving cargo at the place of departure, he appears in an attitude of command, with one hand uplifted, and holding in the other a staff or baton, probably significant of his authority. The men are all clad in long garments, girded at the waist, and wear close round caps, apparently formed of several folds of linen overlapping each other, somewhat resembling the doctor's cap of three centuries ago.

The sea around is thickly studded with marine animals, such as fishes of various sizes, the larger devouring the smaller; some of serpent-like form, perhaps meant for a kind of conger, or snake-eel (*Anguilla*, *Ophiurus*, &c.), several large species of which inhabit the Mediterranean; turtles; crabs, represented as seizing fishes with their claws, exactly in the manner which we have seen crabs employ; tur-

minated shells; and *crocodiles*.* Among these veritable creatures, however, there are other more mythic forms; the winged bull, the bull-cherub, crowned with the sacred tiara, and the fish-god Dagon wearing the horned-cap, accompany the fleet as its proper and powerful guardians.

No legend remains on these interesting slabs to indicate the name of the maritime city which was the object of the expedition. There is, however, reason to believe that both the ships and the mariners were of Phœnician origin, and that the scene must be placed in the Mediterranean Sea rather than in the Persian Gulf.† Now that we certainly know that the Khorsabad monarch was the Shalmaneser of the Sacred Scriptures, we may

* The presence of crocodiles in these scenes might seem at first fatal to the supposition of their maritime character. But Mr. Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology*, observes, that the larger species inhabiting the Ganges descend beyond the brackish water of the Delta into the sea. And other species of the true crocodile (as restricted) are frequently known not only to haunt the mouths of rivers, but even to swim among islands, and pass from one to another, though separated by considerable spaces of sea. That the *Syrian* coast was infested with crocodiles, in ancient times, is not impossible, since Pliny expressly designates a stream, Crocodile River, that entered the sea near Carmel; and the modern Arabs declare that these animals are still found in this river, though they are of small size. Indeed Roger, and other travellers, relate that in 1628 a crocodile issued from the reeds of a lake in this vicinity, and carried off in its grasp an ass belonging to a peasant, as well as a large stone to which it had been tied. The *reputed* existence of such reptiles would be sufficient for the Assyrian artist.

† The nature of the operations represented would alone prove this. The barren shores of the Persian Gulf are quite destitute of wood, both on the low sandy plains and on the rocky mountains; but the magnificent forests of the Syrian coast have presented an inexhaustible magazine of timber in all ages.

with some probability conjecture that we have preserved here a record of his long but fruitless siege of the island Tyre. The historian* tells us that Shalmaneser subdued all Phœnicia, except Sidon, Ake (Acre), and Palmæ-tyrus, and that in the siege of the last-named city he was aided by sixty Phœnician ships, and eight hundred rowers. It is remarkable that neither Sidon nor Tyre is ever reckoned among the Khorsabad king's tributaries when he enumerates them.† There are several rocky islets on the Phœnician shore, all of which display the remains of the massive fortifications with which that ancient enterprising people were wont to strengthen their coast; besides the isles of Aradus and Tyre itself, whose strong walls rose from the very water's edge. So that an expedition sailing along the shores of Syria, in the timid navigation of those days, must of necessity pass just such insular fortresses as the Assyrian artist has represented in this very interesting sculpture.

In Mr. Layard's "Monuments of Nineveh" (pl. 71), there is the copy of a bas-relief of equal, if not superior interest, as illustrative of the state of navigation at a still later era of the Assyrian empire, for the sculpture was found at Kouyunjik. The subject is evidently the flight of a conquered people by means of their ships; and, as the enterprising discoverer informs us, it "formed part of a series which represented the conquest of a nation inhabiting the sea-coast, and the siege and capture of their cities;

* Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* IX. xiv. 2.

† Rawlinson's *Commentary*, 52.

. . . there are grounds for conjecturing that it records the invasion and subjugation of some part of Phœnicia. On the adjoining bas-relief was represented a castle standing on the sea-shore. Its walls and towers were hung round with shields, and its arched entrance was flanked by pillars with capitals resembling those of the Ionic order. A ship was about to leave the shore, and a man, standing on a pier or quay, was giving a child to a woman who had already embarked."*

The sea is depicted as full of animals, much in the same manner as the scene already described, though there is considerable difference in the style of the execution. They consist of fishes,† (some of which resemble sharks,) turtles, crocodiles, crabs, and star-fishes, or perhaps cuttle-fishes. The ships are of two kinds, though possessing many points in common, and filled with the same race of people. The one sort is smaller, destitute of a mast, and much resembles those of the Khorsabad sculptures, except that the prow is formed exactly like the stern, and both have the exterior point prolonged horizontally. The other kind is larger, with the anterior end forming a sharp and long beak (ἔμβολος), doubtless of metal, and intended to pierce a hostile vessel in battle; it runs out horizontally nearly level with the surface of the sea; above the base of this the prow‡ rises

* Mon. of Nin. p. 16.

† With swift prows

Cleaving the *fishy* flood. — *Odys.* iii. 220.

‡ When Harpagua, the Persian general, besieged Phœcia in Ionis, the inhabitants having besought a day's respite, launched their galleys, and

perpendicularly like a wall. The stern is curved round and rising to a great height ends in a sharp point arching over, like the classic *aplustre*, that sheltered the *gubernator*. This kind, evidently a galley fitted for sterner service, both in war and tempest, than the other, carries a mast, furnished with a square yard, worked by two braces passing from each yard-arm to the foot of the mast. Three stays are affixed to the mast-head, two passing to the prow, one to the stern. The mast-head is not furnished with any structure answering to the *car-chesium*, or watch-tub. The sail is represented as furled by being tied to the yard with points at intervals, just as in modern ships.

Both kinds of vessels are biremes, or carry two banks of oars; those of the lower bank pass through small holes in the side, and the rowers are not seen; those of the upper pass over the gunwale, and the men who wield them are partially visible. They alternate with those of the lower tier, and it is evident from their slight superiority of elevation, that they were seated on benches a little behind and above their fellows, and that no deck separated the tiers. The oars consist of a short-square blade fastened to a straight slender staff. Each kind of vessel is steered with two long oars, one passing

put their wives, children, and goods on board, with the images of their gods, and abandoning their city, fled to Corsica.—Herod. i. 164—166. In form their galleys probably agreed with those of the Kouyunjik sculptures; for the historian describing a naval engagement, in which they were concerned, observes that “twenty of their ships were disabled, *their prows being blunted.*”

over each quarter; the steersman, however, is not visible in any case.

Both sorts are furnished with a war-deck, flush from stem to stern, but raised on pillars above the upper tier of rowers, who are open to the air on each side. This deck is protected by high bulwarks (*παράβύματα*), which in the larger galleys appear to have alternate panels of board and wicker,* or the compartments may represent the *τρίχινα* (hairy) and *λευκά* (white bulwarks) of the early Greek vessels.† Over the upper edge of these defences, in both sorts of galleys, hang the round shields of the warriors, which with the similar distribution of the same weapons on the battlements of the castle on shore, cannot fail to bring to mind the graphic allusions of Ezekiel to the maritime power of Tyre and her subject states, and especially to that whereby the prophet characterizes the island-city Arvad.

The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners: thy wise men, O Tyrus, that were in thee, were thy pilots. . . . The men of Arvad with thine army were upon thy walls round about; and the Gammadims were in thy towers: *they hunged their shields upon thy walls round about*; they have made thy beauty perfect. Ezek. xxvii. 8, 11.

The conquest of Sidon by Sennacherib, the king who built the Kouyunjik palace, has been before mentioned (see *ante* p. 60). These sculptures may perhaps have been intended to represent that expedition.

Over the edge of the bulwarks appear the heads

* With wicker-work he bordered all her length

For safety.

Odys. v. 305.

See also Eustath. on the passage.

† See Böckh, *Urkunden Seewesen des Alt. St.* 159, &c.

and shoulders of warriors, each holding his spear in rest, intermingled with women, some of whom wear lofty hoods.

The smaller galleys are braced round with three stout ropes; doubtless the *ὑποζώματα* of the Greeks, which Böckh* has shown to have been thick ropes which ran in a horizontal direction around the ship from prow to stern, intended to keep the whole fabric together. They ran round in several circles, and at certain distances apart, and were put on when the vessel sailed, or when bad weather was feared. Why they are seen only on the smaller galleys in the bas-relief is probably because these were slightly built, and not so well able as the larger to meet the shocks of storms, being put in requisition now only by the urgent necessity of the case.

Mr. Layard adduces no small numismatic evidence to show that the form of these ships was Phœnician; and in particular observes that the galleys, both on the coins referred to and in the Kouyunjik sculptures, "are further identified with the vessels of the Syrian coasts by the coins of Sidon of a later period, which bear on one side a galley similarly constructed, and on the other the head of an Assyrian goddess."†

It has always been customary in the East for the revenues of princes to be largely derived from the presents brought to them from their inferiors and dependents. The system prevailed throughout all classes

* Urkund. 103.

† Nineveh and its Rem. ii. 387.

of society, each presenting his offering to his immediate superior, who was in like manner tributary to his lord or governor, he to his suzerain, until the "great king" himself, the supreme ruler of many subject provinces, terminated the series. A conqueror often left a subjugated people in possession of their own country, when they had not exasperated him by too pertinacious a resistance, contenting himself with the homage of the conquered king expressed by a periodical present. Thus David having conquered the Syrians, put garrisons in their forts; "and the Syrians became servants to David, and *brought gifts*." (2 Sam. viii. 6.) At other times the ruler of a petty state sought to deprecate the displeasure or to ensure the protection of a mightier neighbour by a voluntary offering, an example of which we again find in the history of David.

Then Toi sent Joram his son unto king David, to salute him, and to bless him, because he had fought against Hadadezer, and smitten him: for Hadadezer had wars with Toi. And Joram brought with him vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of brass. 2 Sam. viii. 10.

At other times the proffered gift is merely a token of amity, and is not intended to express any acknowledgment of fealty or superiority, though the pride of the receiver will endeavour if possible so to represent it. The English ambassadors to Persia and China have had great difficulty in extorting the acknowledgment that the presents of which they were the bearers were not tribute, but merely expressions of friendly feeling from an independent power. Indeed in China it never has been conceded,

but foreign ambassadors are stoutly maintained to be "bearers of tribute."

The system of which we speak was seen in its glory in the courts of the mighty potentates of old, whose empire extended over many subordinate kingdoms; as that of Israel in the golden days of Solomon; that of Babylon, under Nebuchadnezzar; and in that of Persia under Ahasuerus, who "reigned from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces" (Esth. i. 1). The sway of the first was not indeed so extensive as that of the others, but his fame was widely spread, and distant Sheba presented her gifts at his feet. The queen of that country

Came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare spices, and very much gold, and precious stones.

And she gave the king an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones: there came no more such abundance of spices as these which the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon. 1 Kings x. 2, 10.

This was a present of amity, but in the following passage we have mention of a real tribute from the subject kings (ver. 26) over whom the Jewish king reigned, his dominion extending over all Western Asia from the Euphrates to Egypt.

And all the kings of the earth sought the presence of Solomon, to hear his wisdom, that God had put in his heart. And they brought every man his present, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment, harness, and spices, horses, and mules, a rate year by year. 2 Chron. ix. 23, 24.

It might easily be supposed that the powerful monarchs of Assyria would also have their tribute

from the various districts of their extended empire. And so we find it. Hoshea, the king of Israel, became the servant of Shalmaneser, and gave him presents year by year (2 Kings xvii. 3, 4); and the cessation of this homage was tantamount to a rebellion. Of the same character, too, was the "present" (2 Kings xviii. 31) which the insolent Rabshakeh demanded for his master from the people of Judah, as the price of the "agreement" which they were to make with him.

On the black obelisk of Temen-bar II., who built the Central Palace of Nimroud, that ancient monarch records the history of his eventful reign, a portion of which, as restored by Col. Rawlinson, we have already given in the preceding pages.* He repeatedly speaks of the tribute which he gathered in his various expeditions. In the ninth year of



TRIBUTE-BEARERS (*Obelisk*).

his reign he received the tribute of the kings of the Chaldees, gold, silver, gems and pearls. In the eleventh year he received that of the king of

* See p. 203, *ante*.

Shetina, gold, silver, horses, sheep, oxen, &c. In the fifteenth year, the king of Dayini paid his homage, and brought in his tribute of horses. In the twenty-first year Tyre, Sidon, and Gubal (Byblos) paid their tribute. In the twenty-sixth the country of Etlak paid its gold and silver, corn, sheep and oxen; &c.

On the four sides of the Obelisk are represented in bas-relief, exquisitely cut and wonderfully preserved, various scenes, almost all of them consisting of the presentation to the king of various articles of tribute. Col. Rawlinson reads the short epigraphs or legends over each scene to express the offerings of five different countries,—1. Ladsan, near Armenia; 2. an unnamed country; 3. Egypt; 4. Shekhi, probably in Babylonia or Elymais; and 5. Shetina, a tribe of Syria.* It is clear, however, that all of the attendants who present the various articles are dressed in the same manner. These presents, as far as they can be identified, consist of skins of wine, or perhaps of dry provisions;† fruits in large trays, borne upon the head;‡ bundles of

* See the Appendix at the end of this volume, for evidence that a portion of this tribute was that of Jehu the King of Samaria.

† For so we find skin-vessels appropriated in the Homeric age:—
Pour also meal

Well-mill'd (full twenty measures) into skins

Close-seam'd.

Odys. ii. 452 (see also line 372).

‡ The presentation of tribute to the Shah of Persia at the festival of Nurooz, one of the most ancient institutions of the empire, well illustrates these sculptures. The following are the words of Mr. Morier:—"The first ceremony was the introduction of the presents from the different provinces. That from prince Hossein Ali Meerza, governor of Shiraz, came first. The master of the ceremonies walked up, having with him the con-

the woods; bags, perhaps of money or gems; many caldrons; cubical packages or masses of unknown character; ornamented and plain vases; pots; sacrificial baskets, shaped like those of the Assyrian priests; shawls; horses caparisoned; camels of the two-humped species; an elephant; a wild bull; a rhinoceros; a large antelope; several species of apes and monkeys, and other productions more indeterminate.

A slab found at Nimroud displays figures dressed in the high cap with a falling point, that marks the tribute bearers of the Obelisk, and evidently belonging to the same people, who likewise present monkeys, and sacrificial baskets, and in addition, bracelets and carrings in a sort of shallow tray. The nature of the animals does not with certainty indicate the origin of these offerings; the two-humped camel is absolutely confined to Central Asia; while the

ductor of the present, and an attendant, who, when the name and titles of the donor had been proclaimed, read aloud from a paper a list of the articles. The present from prince Hossein Ali consisted of a very long train of *large trays, placed on men's heads*, on which were shawls, stuffs, pearls, &c.; then many trays, filled with sugar and sweetmeats; after that, many mules laden with *fruits*. The next present was from Mohammed Ali Khan, prince of Hamadan, the eldest born of the king's sons. . . . It consisted of pistols and spears, a string of one hundred camels, and as many mules. After this, came the present from the prince of Yezd, another of the king's sons, which consisted of shawls and the silken stuffs, the manufacture of his own town. Then followed that of the prince of Meshed. The last and most valuable was that from the Hajee Mohammed Hossein Khan, *Ameen-ed-doulah*. It consisted of fifty mules, each covered with a fine cashmere shawl, and each carrying a load of a thousand tomans. The other offerings had been lodged in the Sandeck Khoneh. This was conveyed in a different direction to the treasury. Each present, like the first, contained a portion of sugar and sweetmeats."

elephant, the rhinoceros, and the apes seem to be Indian rather than African species of these animals. Their peculiarities, however, are too rudely delineated to admit of certainty on this point. On the other hand the antelope appears clearly to be the Bekr-el-Wash or wild ox of the Arabs (*Antilope bubalus*, PALL.), and not the *A. Bennettii*, (SYKES,) with which it is identified by Mr. Layard. The former is an animal of Abyssinia and Barbary; as large as a cow, to which it bears considerable resemblance; its horns are ringed, and curved in the form of the sculptured figure. This species is frequently represented in the Egyptian monuments.

On the slabs which embellished the palace of Khorsabad, copious space was devoted to the representation of tribute-offering. Long lines of persons again and again appear, bringing, doubtless, the various productions of their country, or such articles, obtained by commerce or otherwise, as were esteemed most worthy of the imperial acceptance. All these trains, however, are found on close examination, to belong to two races of people, easily identified and distinguished by countenance and by costume.

One of these races is identifiable with the seamen who navigate the timber-ships in the expedition of the Khorsabad king against the island-fortress. These we have already had reason to consider a Phœnician people, probably Sidonians or Arvadites. They are at once distinguished by a close-fitting skull-cap, formed of many folds, the lines of which

diverge from a point on each side, near the ear. The mariners wear a plain tunic or gown reaching either to the knees or to the ankles, girded with a plain, wide girdle. But the commanders of the ships, and the tribute-bearers, whom we may suppose to be persons of superior station, are clothed in a long robe fringed at the bottom, over which is thrown an elegantly fringed mantle of singular form, being divided all up each side, while the back and front parts, usually rounded, hang down to the legs. Sometimes this is replaced by a mantle open only up the front, the two parts of which are connected by an ornamental chain. The beard is worn



PHENICIAN TRIBUTE.

short and rounded. A few individuals in the tribute ranks wear instead of the folded cap, one ending in a low point either erect or falling over; these seem superiors to the rest, and invariably present a

small model of a fort carried in one hand, probably carved in ivory.

This very curious object bears a prominent place in the offerings of both races; it may possibly have had a symbolic meaning, and have expressed the yielding up of the supremacy of a certain individual city or fortress, just as in later times the keys of a conquered town were presented to the victor. If so, probably each model was inscribed with the name of the city which it represented.

Of the other gifts presented by this race the chief are bowls, such as could be carried one in each hand; skin-bottles, probably containing wine;* horses richly caparisoned; camels of the one-humped or Arabian species; caskets containing rings, earrings, and rosettes, such as are represented on the diadems and bracelets of the Assyrian kings, and doubtless made of gems and precious metals.

If these people do indeed represent the Phœnician nation, they could scarcely have been better characterised than by such wares as these. The skill and taste of Sidonian artists are continually celebrated by Homer both in the *Iliad* (vi. 328; xxiii. 888) and in the *Odyssey* (iv. 741; xv. 504; 507; 553, &c.); and Phœnicia seems to have held in the ancient world the same supremacy in works of elegance, of ornament, and of *bijouterie*, that France claims in the modern.

* The wines of Lebanon and other districts of Syria have always enjoyed a very high reputation. The kings of Persia are said to have drunk no other than the wine of Helbon. (Athen. i.; Strabo, xv. See *Hon.* xiv. 7, and *Ezek.* xxvii. 18.)

But let us turn to the other race of men, who, as tribute-bearers, occupy a place no less prominent upon the Khorsabad bas-reliefs than these whom we conclude to represent the provinces of Western Asia. They wore the hair, in general, disposed over the whole head in small closely twisted ringlets, either arranged in horizontally running tiers, or else falling on every side from the crown downwards; a singular coiffure. The whole was bound by a narrow fillet, over which the frontal ringlets sometimes were allowed to fall. The beard was generally round and short, but in some cases (as with persons of superior rank) it was worn long and square, as with the Assyrians. The dress was a gown or tunic reaching to the mid-leg, or to the knees, which was girded at the waist by a cincture of many wavy lines, probably a sort of ribbon woven in a peculiar manner. From this hung down in front a short cord passing round the middle of a little button shaped like a barrel, or suspending an implement resembling a key. Possibly the girdle consisted of a long slender cord, passed many times round the body, with this appendage for a tag at the end. The skin, sometimes of a sheep or goat, sometimes of a leopard,* with the fur on, was thrown over all, on the left side fastened by a cord over the right shoulder, which was left bare. Boots laced up in front, and reaching either above the knees, or to the

* Mr. Layard is in doubt whether these skins are those of leopards or of spotted gazelles (Nin. and its Rem. ii. 398, *note*). The paw, however, which the sculptor has drawn attached to the skin in one of the figures, decides this question. The leopard inhabits Armenia.

middle of the calf, defended the legs, and in the latter case the upper portion of the limb was encased in a material before alluded to (*See ante*, p. 290) and indicated by crossing lines.

The tribute brought by these men consisted only of the small models of fortresses, which we suppose to have been symbols of their cities, and horses. The latter are fine, high-bred animals, caparisoned like the Assyrian riding horses, full of fire and mettle in their figure and action.



ARMENIAN TRIBUTE.

The nationality of this people may perhaps be determined with no less certainty than that of the former. Many, though not all, of the sieges depicted in the Khorsabad war-scenes, are those of fortresses garrisoned by a race agreeing in costume and appearance with these, so closely as to leave no doubt of their identity. One of these is the city Mekhatseri, which Col. Rawlinson sees reason to

conclude was situated in Armenia, and not improbably was the same as is now known by the name of Van. Another of these is the city of Kharkhar, capital of a province of the same name, which the same excellent authority declares was certainly a part of Armenia.

The noble animals represented as brought by this people were peculiarly appropriate as an Armenian tribute. The prophet Ezekiel in his enumeration of the productions of many lands that enriched the princely Tyre, thus speaks of Armenia.

They of the house of Togarmah traded in thy fairs with horses, and horsemen, and mules. Ezek. xxvii. 14.

On which passage Dr. Kitto thus comments. "Togarmah we believe, with Michaelis, to have been Armenia. This country was in very ancient times celebrated for its horses. It was in this country and Media that the Persian kings bred horses for themselves and their armies, and in later times *the Armenians paid their tribute in horses*. The word rendered "horsemen" (פרשים, *parashim*) has certainly sometimes that meaning, and may here imply that along with the horses were sold slaves skilled in the care and treatment of those animals. But the word also means *horses for riding*, as distinguished from others; and if thus understood here, the others were probably chariot-horses. Michaelis thinks that the two words (סוסים, *susim*, and פרשים, *parashim*) distinguish the common and more noble breeds; and if so, this is a distinction anciently applicable, so far as we know, to no other

part of the east than Armenia; and we may recognise in the latter the famous Nysean horses which . . . were admired not less for the colour and brightness of their hair than for the elegance of their forms, on which account they alone were held worthy to draw the chariots of the Persian kings."*

The persons whom we have before mentioned as brought in manacles before the king, one of whom was flayed, and others blinded by his own hand,—appear to have been chiefs of this people. They were clothed in mantles of more courtly form and ornament than either the warriors or the tribute bearers.

We are disposed to believe that in the sculptures the Armenians are put representatively for the whole of the tributary nations on the north and east of Assyria proper, and the Phœnicians for those lying to the west and south-west.

* Pict. Bible, *in loco*.

HUNTING.

And Cush begat Nimrod ; he began to be a mighty one in the earth : He was a mighty hunter before the LORD : wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the LORD. Gen. x. 8, 9.

IN the early ages of the world, when men were few, but yet were energetically extending their sway over the earth, they would find their supremacy continually challenged by the savage animals of the forest and jungle, of various formidable races. The primeval seats of the human family after the flood, and the countries immediately surrounding, into which they would first push their dominion, were then and are still the prolific regions of some of the mightiest and most ferocious of the brute creation, ever ready to contest with tusk and horn, talon and fang, the lordship of man. The kingly lion, the tiger, the leopard, and the panther lurked in the covert, thirsty for blood; the wooded mountain sheltered the secondary *felinæ*, with the wolf, and the bear; the plains re-echoed the shriek of the hyena and the jackal: the elephant and the rhinoceros shook the gloomy forest: the fierce boar, prompt for war, ravaged the newly-planted gardens and vineyards; fierce and powerful baboons, cunning as cruel, dwelt in the caves and recesses of the

woods; and animals of the herbivorous class, yet hardly less bold and savage than the lords of the carnivorous tribes, the oryx, the bubalus, the nyloghau, the wild bull, the buffalo, the urus, the bonassus, the arnee, and the gaur,—were ready to use their gigantic strength in instant assault upon any foe, bestial or human, that might dare to invade their domain.

To meet these sylvan possessors of the earth, and either to destroy them, or to expel them from the vicinity of cultivation and settlement, was thus absolutely necessary,* and the successful hunter would be legitimately regarded as a benefactor of his race. Many qualities of mind and body would be brought into practice, and would be improved by the exercise, in this indispensable employment, which would impart to their possessor a halo of glory in the eyes of his fellows, and would lead the way for the assumption on the one hand, and for the concession on the other, of royal authority and power. Personal prowess and daring hardihood would prompt the youth to seek the lion or the buffalo; a knowledge of his enemy's haunts, and of his habits would be needful to guide him in the conflict; the powerful muscular frame, to sustain

* On the introduction of Israel into Canaan, Jehovah declared (Exod. xxi. 29; Deut. vii. 22) that he would not exterminate the original inhabitants at once, lest "the beasts of the field" should so multiply as to become troublesome. In the fragmentary notes upon India by Megasthenes, which have been preserved, he says that the third caste consists of shepherds and hunters, and that the latter "for clearing the land of wild beasts and birds that destroy the grain, are entitled to a portion of corn from the king."—Cory, *Anc. Frag.* 217. (Ed. 1832).

the shock of the assault; skill in the use of weapons, the practised eye, the ready hand, to direct the blow with precision and effect; agility to evade the forceful impetus of his brute foe; a mind fertile in resources and stratagems; promptitude to follow up an unexpected advantage; fortitude in danger; patience in suffering;—such are some of the qualifications which would be indispensable for one who in those early days, and in that region of the earth, was ambitious to claim the reputation of a “mighty hunter.”

Hunting was thus only of less importance as an occupation, than war itself. It was indeed considered by the ancients as a sort of war, and formed a fit preparatory education for that sterner conflict, in which the resources of man were engaged against those of his fellow man. Thus Xenophon observes of the Persians of his time:—“They are careful to keep up these public huntings; and the king, as in war, so in this, is their leader; hunts himself and takes care that others do so; because it seems to be the truest method of practising all such things as relate to war. It accustoms them to rise early in the morning, and to bear heat and cold; it exercises them in long marches, and in running; it necessitates them to use their bow against the beast they hunt, and to throw their javelin if he fall in their way: their courage must of necessity be often sharpened in the hunt, when any of the strong and vigorous beasts oppose themselves: they must come to blows with the beast if he comes up with them, and must be upon their guard as he comes upon

them. So that it is no easy matter to find what one thing there is that is practised in war, and is not so in hunting.* The same author, himself an ardent lover of the sport, affirms that almost all the ancient heroes, Nestor, Theseus, Castor, Pollux, Ulysses, Diomedes, Achilles, &c., were "disciples of hunting," having been carefully instructed in this art, as one that would be of the greatest service to them in military affairs (Cyneg.); and Pliny observes that those who were designed for great commanders, first learned to contest with the swiftest wild beasts in speed, with the most fierce in strength, and with the most sagacious in subtlety. (Pancgyr).

Herodotus (i. 37) associates together "the two most noble and becoming exercises of war and hunting."

The divine grant of flesh for human food, conferred for the first time upon man, in God's covenant with him after the deluge, would doubtless give a motive and a zest to the sport of hunting. Perhaps the rebellious race of Cain had eaten flesh before the flood, without waiting for the divine permission; but now that all restrictions were taken off, men, we may be sure, would not be slow to avail themselves of the newly bestowed privilege. Without the resources of hunting, however, the permission would have been of little avail to them; for though flocks and herds were under man's dominion from the very earliest ages, and, as we firmly believe, were originally given to him in a state of domestication, yet these would be much too valuable in the infancy

* Ashley's *Cyropædia*, i. 64. See also ii. 244.

of the world, for the gratification of habitual appetite in this way. Accordingly when Isaac wished for "savoury meat," though the event proved that a kid from his own flocks could be so dressed as not to be distinguishable from game, and though "he had great possession of flocks, and possession of herds," (Gen. xxvi. 14) yet he did not send to these for his meat, but commissioned his elder son to go forth to the field "to hunt for venison." And this was not an extraordinary case, for we learn that Isaac habitually "ate of his venison;" (xxv. 28) and so valuable were the talents of the "cunning hunter," in thus supplying the family with animal food, which otherwise they would probably seldom have tasted, that Isaac's affections were peculiarly drawn out to him on this account.

The same feelings prevail in the East to this day. Very little animal food is eaten, and least of all by the pastoral wanderers, who have ample flocks and herds. "The Oriental shepherds," observes Dr. Kitto, "seldom, except to entertain a stranger, (See Gen. xviii. 7) think of diminishing their flocks to supply themselves with meat. They are as glad of any game that falls in their way, as if they had not a sheep or goat in their possession; and it was quite natural that such a 'cunning hunter' as Esau should rather be directed to go out into the fields and shoot game, than to go and fetch kids from the flock."*

If the various tribes of animals now existing in a state of domestic servitude, were not originally

* Pict. Bible, i. 175.

created in that state, as we believe they were, and given to man as an inestimable boon to lighten his penal toil, or to minister to his wants;—if in the early ages the horse, the ass, the bull, the goat, the sheep, the dog, were denizens of the woods and plains in native freedom, a condition of being which, as regards these races, has confessedly not been recognised within the reach of history or tradition, then the stratagems and the labours of the hunter would have another object not less important than those which we have noticed. The subjugation of the horse and of the bull from the wild liberty of nature, and the training of these fine animals to perform the various services that man required, laying their gigantic strength at his feet,—would surely be a nobler conquest, and would reflect upon the primitive heroes who achieved it a greater honour, than the defeat of armies and the capture of cities. But this, we think, was no human achievement.

Jehovah's questions to Job appear to imply that the docility of domestic animals is a quality implanted in them by Himself; and that it is not given to man's endeavours to subjugate such as are naturally wild.

Will the unicorn [the *Reem*, probably some ferocious animal of the bovine race,] be willing to serve thee, or abide by thy crib? Canst thou bind the unicorn with his band in the furrow? or will he harrow the valleys after thee? Wilt thou trust him, because his strength is great? or wilt thou leave thy labour to him? Wilt thou believe him, that he will bring home thy seed, and gather it into thy barn? Job. xxxix. 9—12.

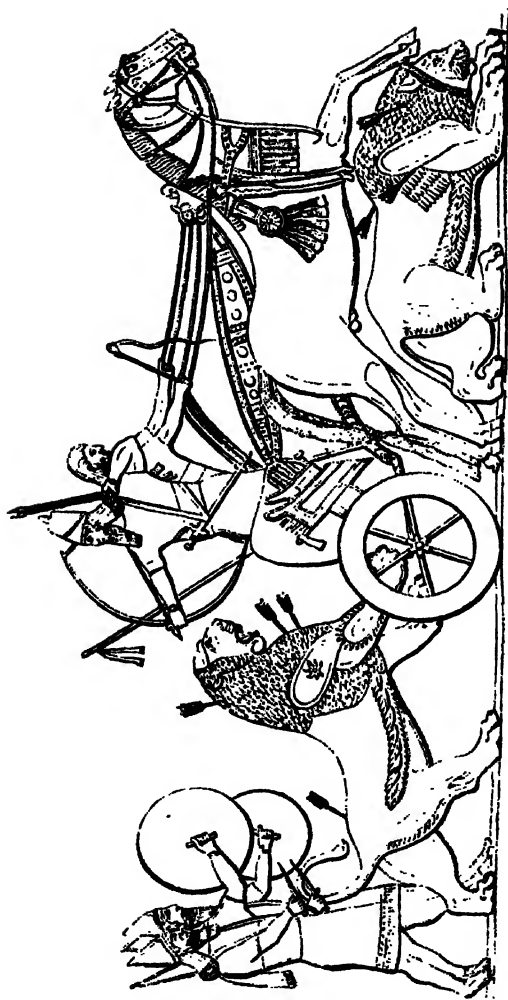
But why not, if it was merely contingent upon human skill to subdue and to train the wild animals?

The early Assyrian kings, like the illustrious founder of their monarchy, were "mighty hunters," men who loved the chase, and who hesitated not to peril life and limb in single combat with the most savage and powerful denizens of the forest. In those days, the noble sport was pursued in a very different mode from that in which it was followed afterwards in the Persian "paradises," where the affrighted beasts were congregated into a narrow space, and shot by the monarch, or rather butchered, from some elevated post where no danger could approach his person.* The early heroes, Ninus and Semiramis, had immortalized themselves by their personal exploits with the lion and the panther,†

* Nearly the same ignoble method is practised at this day in Persia and India. Mr. Morier accompanied the Prince of Persia to a hunt in the mountains of Tabriz. "We took our stations with guns loaded with ball, upon the brink of a deep valley, through which the game was to be driven. The prince had overnight sent several battalions of his troops, with their drums, to surround and beat the country, and at the time we arrived at the spot, the game was to have appeared in the vale, on the confines of which we were stationed, but unfortunately the scheme failed. The advance of the troops had been ill-timed, and the wild goats and antelopes, which were to have been our prey, had escaped before we appeared.

. . . The slaughter of game is sometimes immense on these parties; for when the beasts are driven into the valleys, they find an enemy behind each rock, and the fire that is kept up incessantly alarms them so much that they know not where to go for safety." Second Journey.

† According to Diodorus (ii. § 1) the inner wall of Babylon had "portrayed in the bricks, before they were burnt, all sorts of living creatures, as if it were to the life, laid with great art in curious colours. Especially was represented a general hunting of all sorts of wild beasts, each four cubits high and upwards. Amongst these was to be seen Semiramis on horseback, striking a leopard through with a dart, and next to her, her husband Ninus, in close fight with a lion, piercing him with his lance."



LION HUNT.

which popular tradition delighted to repeat; and they and their successors had sought to perpetuate the memory of these glorious deeds, by sculpturing them on the marble walls of their palace courts, as not less worthy of remembrance than the scenes of martial conquest with which they were intermingled, or the congregation of tribute-bearers which symbolized a dominion extending from sea to sea.

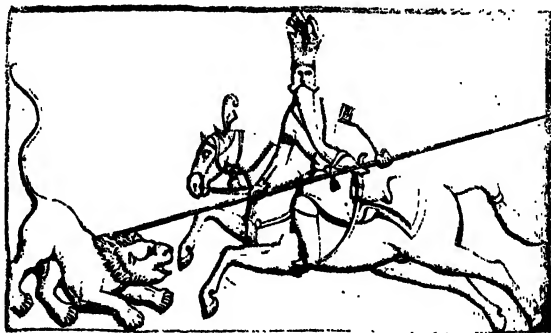
Another kind of commemoration of the exploits of the "mighty hunter" was the exaltation of him to the skies; for the most striking and splendid constellation in the nocturnal heavens, Orion, with his starry belt and pendent sword, preceded by the hare, and followed by the dog (according to Chaldean astronomy), was considered to represent Nimrod.

The favourite game of the Assyrian monarch comprised the lion and the wild bull: both of them foes "worthy of his steel." The magnificent figures of the lion, drawn with the utmost anatomical precision, with the varied expressions of calm courage, of furious rage, or of suffering and pain, are given in the sculptures with uncommon vivacity and spirit,* and prove that the artists were personally familiar with the king of beasts.

In the accompanying engraving, which we copy from the magnificent work of Messrs. Flandin and

* "The lion and the tiger are furnished with a small horny apex to the tail,—a fact noticed by the ancients, but only verified of late years, because this object lies concealed in the hair of the tip, and is very liable to drop off." (Col. H. Smith in *Cyclop. of Bibl. Lit.*, ii, 252.) The Assyrian sculptors have not overlooked this curious appendage, but they have given it a somewhat exaggerated development. It seems to be confined to the Asiatic variety (or species) of the lion.

Coste,* we see royal ambition treading in the same path as of old, and discern how little the sculptor's art has to boast of progress during three thousand years. It is from a bas-relief of colossal size cut on a rock at Teheran by Futtch Ali Shah, the late king of Persia, representing him slaying a lion with his own hand.



PERSIAN KING KILLING A LION.

The Assyrian monarch usually appears to have hunted in his chariot, which did not differ either in its structure and appendages, or in the trappings of the horses, from that employed in war. He was equipped, too, as if for battle. The bow and feathered shafts seem principally to have been relied on; but he carried his sword girded at his side, and an axe and a spare bow were as usual in the large quivers on his chariot; the spear also stood in its socket behind.† Armed men on

* Voyage en Perse, ii. pl. 30.

† Before the age of Homer, the bow and arrow, the spear, the sword, and the mace, constituted the entire armoury of offensive weapons used by

foot accompanied their lord,* who with round bucklers and short swords attacked the lion, to draw off the attention of the infuriated beast, when wounded. The lowness of the chariot, which was quite open behind, afforded the king no protection against the animal when he came to close quarters, while its narrow limits would in some measure deprive him of advantages which the open ground might afford. The sculptures show that the savage monster, when pierced with the shafts but not disabled, often rushed to the chariot, and reared up against its open back with gnashing teeth and extended talons,† in which case the king had only his own skill, strength, and prowess to look to for defence. But these encounters were familiar dangers; the mighty hunter, thrusting his bossed buckler in the face of his brute assailant, struck the spear-point down his gaping throat, or took advantage of his rampant attitude to stab him to the heart with the two-edged sword.

Sometimes the King was attended in his hunting expeditions by his nobles in their chariots,‡ who took part in the chase, apparently on equal terms with himself, pursuing the lion at full speed, and shooting him as he fled. And occasionally individuals of rank and station displayed their skill and courage by single combats with the forest-monarch

the warriors and hunters of semi-barbarous Greece. These, too, are the weapons with which the Assyrians hunted the lion and the bull.

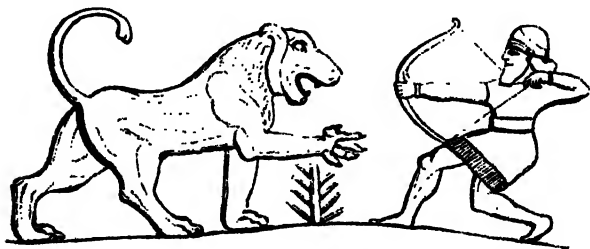
* Layard, pl. 10.

† ——— The lion, when he glares

Determin'd battle.—*Æschylus*.

‡ Layard, pl. 31.

in his own domain. Scenes of this character, very interesting in their details, were favourite subjects in the embroidered decoration of royal robes.* In one of these a nobleman wearing a diademed cap, and garments richly adorned, has sought the forest on horseback, with one attendant, also mounted. On arriving at the ground, he has alighted, leaving both the horses in the charge of his companion. Two lions are in the picture, one of which the hunter has pursued and seized by the mane with his left hand; the savage beast ramps up with outstretched paws, but receives the point of the sword in his heart. The other lion walks off in an attitude which expresses the conflict of fear with anger. The attendant, though armed with helmet, bossed shield and spear, takes no part in the combat.



ASSAULT ON LION.

In another scene the noble hunter kneels on one knee to shoot an arrow at the lion, who comes on to meet him with open mouth, lashing his stiffened tail from side to side. Two other men hasten up

* Layard, pls. 3, 49, 50.

after the lion, the one armed with spear and shield, the other with the spear and mace, and both wearing helmets. The scenery represents a wooded country. Somerville says:—

When Nimrod bold,
That mighty hunter, first made war on beasts,
And stained the woodland green with purple dye,
New and unpolish'd was the huntsman's art.
With clubs and stones, rude implements of war,
He arm'd his savage bands, a multitude
Untrain'd : of twining osiers form'd, they pitch
Their artless toils, then range the desert hills,
And scour the plains below. ♦ *The Chase, Book I.*

But the arms and appliances of the early Assyrians were very far from this rude condition.

Oppian, in his third mode of hunting the lion, practised, as he says, in Ethiopia, has furnished an excellent commentary on these sculptures. He calls it an arduous and wonderful exploit; and describes it as performed by four bold Ethiopians, relying upon their strength and valour. They are furnished with circular shields, strongly made of osiers interwoven, and covered with bull's hide, which, when dry, defies the talons and teeth of the most savage beasts. Their whole bodies they invest in wool, wrapping it round their upper parts in thick bundles, and cover their heads with helmets, leaving only the lips, the nose, and the eyes exposed. (See the description of the Assyrian helmets on page 285 *ante*). Thus accoutred, they approach the savage with fearless impatience, clacking the air with thick whips. "He, looking forth wrathfully from his cavern, roars with horrible open mouth against his

assailants, his blue eyes* flashing fire, fervid in rage, like the heavenly lightning. As when the flood of Ganges bursts from the rocks upon the shore, swollen with the supply of twenty other rivers, and pours itself with furious whirlpools into the sea,—so the woods resound, and the surrounding mountains with the lion's dreadful roaring; the very heavens re-echo. Like a tempest he comes on, greedy to sate himself with the blood of his opponents; but they await unmoved his lightning-like assault. Ungovernable he rushes on with dreadful jaws and talons, and lacerates whomsoever he seizes. But one of the youths assailing him vigorously from behind, he turns with a mighty growl upon his new foe, when another in turn wounds him in the side. Others from other points irritate him, relying on the hides, the shields, and the thongs, which neither his powerful teeth can cut, nor the points of his steel-like claws penetrate. He meanwhile, furiously raging, spends his labour in vain; now relinquishing one enemy, now suddenly seizing another, and bearing him aloft from the ground, and now falling with indomitable force upon another. But, like as when a brave warrior finds himself surrounded by a ring of foes in the fervid battle,—breathing forth courage, he rushes hither and thither, shaking his blood-dyed spear; but at length the martial crowd overpowers him, as all close upon him at once; down he falls transfixed with many javelins;—so the fierce lion,

* *Χαροαῖον ὄμματιν*. By this epithet, which seems to have puzzled the commentators, the poet doubtless intended to indicate the gleam of blue light that is seen within the eyes of animals of the cat kind, reflected from the *tapetum lucidum* of the choroid membrane.

worn out with his fruitless labours, yields the palm of battle to his foes, distils from his mouth the bloody foam, and lowers his suffusing eyes to the ground. As when a fighter, who has earned many crowns in the strife, at length subdued by wounds from the hand of a more fortunate foe, at first stands streaming with copious blood, then staggers as if drunken, and nods his head, but at last, his tottering knees giving way, he falls upon the earth; so the forest-king stretches his powerless limbs upon the sand. But his enemies then press upon him the more, and bind him in strong bands, an unresisting prey. Much-daring men! how great an exploit have they conceived, how great an exploit have they performed, who have prevailed to carry off that truculent monster, as if it had been a ram from the fold! "•

To attack and overcome a lion in single combat was always esteemed by the ancients a great exploit. The earliest display of Samson's superhuman strength was the killing and rending of "a young lion," (that is, a lion in the pride of his youthful prime) with no weapon in his hand (Judg. xiv. 6). David also records his having attacked a lion that came to prey on his flock; he "caught him by the beard, and smote him and slew him" (1 Sam. xvii. 35) and this feat seems to have been performed with no weapons more effective than the rude staves and stones of the field, or at best his shepherd's crook. The "slaying of a lion in a pit in a snowy day," by Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada (2 Sam. xxiii. 20;

* Cyneget, iv. 147—211.

1 Chr. xi. 22) was an exploit of sufficient magnitude to be enumerated among the deeds that gave to that heroic warrior an honourable place among the worthy triads of King David's mighty men.

Among the Greeks several instances were preserved by tradition of this mighty deed in the heroic age; of which it may be sufficient to allude to the slaughter of the Nemæan lion by Hercules. In historic times Alexander the Great, emulous of Herculean fame, himself engaged the king of beasts in single combat, and came off victorious. The gladiators called *bestiarii*, were expressly trained for these conflicts in the Roman amphitheatres, and exhibited a coolness, an agility, and a skill in the use of weapons, that not infrequently made them triumphant over the brute rage of lions fresh from fiery Numidia.*

No proof, that we are aware of, is afforded by the sculptures that the Assyrians used tame lions in war or in the chase, in both of which services they were frequently employed by the Egyptians;† but that these and other wild beasts were caught alive and kept for show, as a part of royal pomp, there

* Montfaucon has given a plate (tom. III. part ii. pl. 182), from the Nasonian tomb, of a curious lion hunt. Eight men armed with large round bucklers contend with two lions, in an inclosed park. The force of the lion's assault has overthrown one man, who however so covers his body with his shield as to defy the animal's teeth and claws; while two other men prepare to draw off his attention from their prostrate friend. The other lion rushes against five men who stand side by side, presenting a wall of their shields to him. Neither bow, arrows, sword, nor spear is in the hands of any of the hunters, unless a staff in the grasp of one may be the handle of a spear.

† Wilkinson, *Mann. of Egyptians*, iii. 17. *Diod. Sic.* 148.

is every reason to believe. The "den of lions" at Babylon, into which the faithful prophet was cast (Dan. vi.) was doubtless of this character, and probably not an innovation of the Persian dynasty, but an old appendage of Babylonian royalty. The apocryphal author of "Bel and the Dragon" informs us that the den contained seven lions, which were fed every day with two carcasses (or slaves) and two sheep. In Morocco and Barbary, lions are at the present time kept in dens, for the same purpose, the execution of criminals.* Many of the early Christian martyrs were "thrown to the lions."

Between the colossal bull-cherubs that, back to back, guarded the magnificent portal of the propyleum in front of Shalmaneser's palace, stood on each side a human figure of gigantic dimensions, holding a lion tightly down under his left arm, while the efforts of the animal were restrained by its fore paw being firmly grasped in the same hand. Doubtless these are symbolic figures; but the action of the animal under circumstances so peculiar, the attitude, the play of the muscles, and the contortions of the brutal countenance, as with impotent rage it struggles to escape,—are so vividly and correctly rendered, as to force the conclusion that the sculptor had the living reality before him when he transferred the subject to the marble.

The ancient mode of capturing lions alive is thus described by Oppian:—"The hunters, having sought a place, where the maned lion, the terror of the herds and of the herdsmen, roars terribly in his cavern,

* Hoest. ii. 77.

dig a round hole both wide and deep, and fix upright in it a stone column lofty and inaccessible. From the top of this they suspend a lamb just taken from the parent, and encircle the pit with a strong wall of stones. The bleating of the lamb soon at-



STRANGLED LION.

tracts the king of the forest, who, rushing to the place, paces round and round the wall, eyeing the prey. At length, urged by hunger, he leaps the fence, and instantly finds himself, to his astonish-

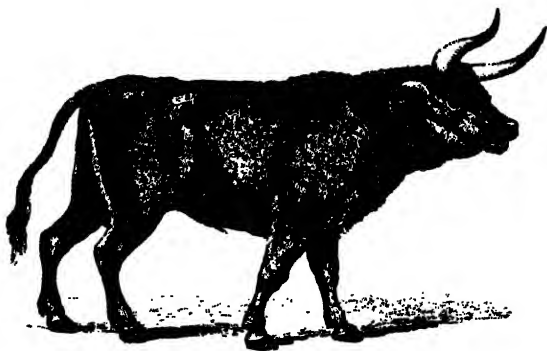
ment, at the bottom of the snare. The hunters, who had watched from a distance the success of their stratagem, approach, and let down to the desponding beast, a trap ingeniously made of thongs, within which they have placed a piece of roasted flesh. He presently enters, the orifice is drawn together, and he is thus dragged, an enraged captive, to the surface."*

With equal truth to nature the sculptures represent combats of lions and other *carnivora* with bulls and similar animals. The side-stroke of the mighty paw, the diverging toes, the exerted talons, the seizing of the prey by the throat, with the head turned on one side; the mode in which the agile monster leaps on the back of his prey, crouching up and holding by the flesh of the shoulders with adpressed paws,—are well depicted, and indicate familiarity with the scene.

The conquest of the wild bull by the prowess of the Assyrian king was an exploit deemed worthy, no less than that of the lion, of representation on the sculptured walls of his palace. And let us not think lightly of this herbivorous animal, as if it were a timid or a powerless foe. The figures on the bas-reliefs show that the species was the Urus of ancient Europe (*Bos urus*, SM.) not the bison or aurochs; and a comparison of the representations of the Assyrian artists with a fine figure of the wild urus in Griffith's Anim. King. (iv. 411) shows how carefully the former attended to minute characters of specific identity. Of this species were the wild

* Cyneget. iv. 77.

bulls of the Hercynian forest, which Cæsar describes (lib. vi.) as little inferior to elephants in size, of great strength and swiftness, sparing neither man nor beast, when they have caught sight of him. The race seems to have spread over the whole of Europe and Western Asia, reaching even to Britain; the huge forest that surrounded ancient London was infested with these *boves sylvestres* among other wild beasts, and the race is supposed still to exist in a semi-domesticated state, in the white oxen of Chil-



WILD URUS.

ingham and some other of our northern parks. The ferocity of the urus distinguished it from the bison, even among the Latin poets, and it was esteemed inferior to no animal in savage power. Hence the destruction of one was a great exploit, worthy of heroic fame. Philip of Macedon killed a wild bull in Mount Orbel, which had made great havoc and produced great terror among the inhabitants; its spoils he hung up in commemoration of his feat

in the vestibule of the temple of Hercules. The legendary exploit of Guy, Earl of Warwick, in freeing the neighbourhood from a terrible dun cow, whether historically true or not, implied a traditional terror of the animal; and the family of Turnbull in Scotland are said to owe their patronymic to a hero who turned a wild bull from Robert Bruce, when it had attacked him in hunting.*

Pliny's description of the Ethiopian wild bull is sufficiently formidable. "But the most fell and cruell of all others in that country, be the wild bulls of the forest, greater than our common field-bulls: most swift, of colour brended; their eyes gray or blewish, their hair growing contrarie, their mouth wide, and reaching to their eares; their hornes likewise hard by, mooveable; their hide as hard as a flint, checking the dent of any weapon whatsoever, and cannot be pierced; all other wild-beastes they chase and hunt; themselves cannot be taken but in pitfalls: in this their wildnesse and rage they dye, and never become tamed."†

The species thus alluded to was not the *urus*, which never extended to Africa, but was probably the *Bos caffer*, now one of the most formidable animals of South Africa, and more dreaded than

* In the curious old plates of Johannes Stradan's "*Venationes Ferarum*," there is one representing the hunting of the wild bull, with the following legend:—

"Bubalus agrestis, rabidus, trux, et ferus est bos
Indomitum ut capiant, equites peditesque frequenti
Latratu curentque canum morsuque fatigant,
Donec humi vasto procumbat corpore fessus."

† Ph. Holland's Pliny, viii. 21.

the lion himself. It affords another example of the ferocity that may attach to the bovine race.

Thunberg, in South Africa, had an encounter with a male of this species, which had been well nigh fatal to him. It killed two of the horses of the party in a few minutes, and drove the traveller and his companions to take rapid refuge in the branches of tall trees, where they remained till the savage beast departed. So tremendous was the brute's assault that the first horse fell on its back with its feet in the air, and all its entrails hanging out; in which state it lived about half an hour: the second horse was pierced quite through the breast by the bull's horns, which even went through the saddle; it was in a moment thrown to the ground, and died instantly with many of its bones broken.

There are wild species of great size and equal ferocity found in the forests of India, such as *Bos gour*, *Bos arnee*, *Bos bubalus*, &c., with which the lion and tiger have no chance in combat. Even an old male of the domesticated species is sufficiently formidable when enraged, and many of our readers will recall Byron's fine allusion to the ferocity of the assaulted bull:—

Hark ! heard ye not the forest-monarch's roar ?
Crashing the lance, he snuffs the spouting gore
Of man and steed, o'erthrown beneath his horn.

Childe Harold, i. 68.

The mode in which the Assyrian kings hunted the urus was closely similar to that employed for the lion, and their arms and equipage were the same. The monarch pursued the quarry in his chariot at

full speed, pouring in his arrows, as he urged the race, and aiming particularly at the head, or the heart, just behind the shoulder. Sometimes the animal fell pierced with many wounds, and lay prostrate with lolling tongue and glazing eyes, but at others the eager hunter pushed on as the wounded beast relaxed its speed, and driving close by his side, seized one horn* in the moment of passing, and with the hand of a practised *matador*, inserted



BULL-HUNT.

the point of his sword between the joints of the spine just behind the skull, dividing the medullary cord and producing instant death.†

As in the lion-chase, a horseman fully armed and accoutred with bow and spear, helm and shield, led a spare horse caparisoned for the monarch's use, when the nature of the country no longer permitted the

* In the bull-fights introduced at Rome by Julius Cæsar, Thessalian horsemen pursued the bulls round the circus, and when the latter were tired out, seized them by the horns, and killed them.

† Layard, pl. 11.

progress of the vehicle, or when convenience prompted a change of motion.* It was sometimes the duty of the armed horsemen to push on and turn the bull towards the king,† when likely to escape‡ by his superior fleetness; and not unfrequently both these with the bow and spear, and footmen with the shield and sword, bore their part in the death of the noble game.

The prey was brought home to the palace,§ though the mode of its transmission is not represented; probably it was dragged by horses, like the bulls slain in the Spanish arena. The victorious king was met by the officers of his household, presenting him with refreshments, and by musicians who celebrated his prowess, as we have already noticed (see *ante*, p. 131).

We have spoken of the combats between lions and bulls, which formed a favourite subject for the embroidered borders of royal garments. In these the courage and power of the bull are well depicted in one scene, in which a lion has leaped upon his antagonist's back, and strives by tooth and talon to

* Layard, pl. 11, 32.

† Ibid, pl. 48.

‡ Blane, in his description of Asoph Ul Doulah's hunting, thus speaks of one of the wild bovine races in Western India. "The hunting the wild buffalo is performed by shooting him from elephants; but he runs so fast that it is very difficult to get up with him, and as there are no dogs that will attack him, the horsemen are sent after him to endeavour to stop or turn him; but they dare not venture near, as he runs at them, and can easily toss a horse with his horns, if he comes within his reach. But when he can by any means be retarded, so as to let the elephants come up, he is soon dispatched by the matchlock. Some of the buffaloes are of prodigious size and strength, and have an uncommonly wild and furious look; and they are so formidable in the jungles, that it is said even the largest royal tyger never ventures to attack them."—Hunting in the Mogul Empire, p. 198.

§ Layard, pl. 12.

maintain his hold; a second bull gallops up to the succour of his fellow with threatening front. In another, the tawny savage has sprung at the throat of the bull, while another of the herd, pawing the ground with his hoofs, lowering his head, and lashing his tail to and fro, runs up behind. In another, the bull bowed to one knee, by the impetus of his antagonist's mighty bound, seems in the very act of



LION AND BULL FIGHT.

throwing up his head with a shock that will cast his hoc over his back into the air; nearly in the identical attitude delineated by Captain Williamson, in his spirited representation of a combat between a buffalo and a tiger. The reproduction of these bestial conflicts with so much truth, renders it probable that they were not less common among the ancient Assyrians, as exciting shows for popular delight, than they are among the modern Asiatics.*

* Sir C. Fellows found the bull contending with lions the most common device on the bas-reliefs of Lycia, and suggests that the reference may be to the family of Europa, contending with the wild animals of the country. (*Disc. in Lycia*, 182.) But the device is as characteristic of Assyria as of Asia Minor.

Captain Williamson's description of the tiger's mode of fighting when opposed to the buffalo is doubtless equally applicable to that of the lion, and is very illustrative of these ancient sculptures. When at length, after much manifestation of cowardice, the tiger "does summon up courage to oppose his assailant, he displays wonderful vigour and activity. His *claws are distended*, and wherever they touch they fail not to draw streams of blood; actuating the buffalo to the most desperate efforts, but which are not of long duration. The immense strength



TIGER AND BUFFALO FIGHT.

of the tiger *lies in his fore-arm*, and would prove fatal to the buffalo if there were an opportunity given for a blow to take proper effect. The buffalo being on his guard, avoids too close an engagement, but *ever keeping a front* to his opponent, rushes towards him with his whole force, and recedes with surprising celerity as soon as the tiger shows his intention to strike. Sometimes the tiger will follow and make a desperate spring, which, however, the buffalo either avoids by rapidly shifting his ground,

or at the same moment, darting forward, meets the tiger with his horns." Capt. W. has never seen a *rencontre* between a tiger and a *wild* buffalo, but from what he has witnessed of the sufficiency of a tame one he judges that the tiger would have not the least chance in the conflict.*

The heroic and energetic monarchs of early Assyria, doubtless, might boast with Sir Tristrem,—

"—— My most delight hath always been
To hunt the salvage chace, amongst my peers,
Of all that rangeth in the forest green,
Of which none is to me unknown that ever yet was seen."

But the conquest of inferior game was not, in general, deemed of sufficient importance to be worthy of commemoration by the chisel of the sculptor. To this we are aware of only one exception, where the pursuit of a large kind of stag by a hunter on horseback is represented on the ornamental embroidery of a robe. The species is probably the common red deer, though the artist has exaggerated its dimensions.†

No trace of the dog, either as an auxiliary to man, in the chase of the wild animals, or in any other capacity, appears on the Assyrian sculptures; a circumstance the more remarkable, because in Egyptian monuments of high antiquity its occurrence is frequent, and that of various breeds,—some of which, resembling our modern scent hounds, are used solely for hunting.‡ And the training of dogs for hunting

* Oriental Field Sports, 93.

† Bishop Heber mentions the *mohr*, a species of deer, considerably larger than the stag, as seen by him in the north of India.

‡ See Wilkinson, *Mann. Anc. Egypt.* iii. 12, 32.

is expressly mentioned as a recognised profession by the ancient Hindoo laws.*

But Colonel Rawlinson found in the ruins of Babylon a fragment of sculpture representing in beautiful workmanship a man with a short club in his hand, and a huge dog standing by his side, with a collar round his neck, from which a rope is held



EGYPTIAN HUNTSMAN.

in the man's other hand. The relic, which is now in the British Museum, is doubtless of high antiquity, and may be Assyrian. The dog is a magnificent animal, belonging to that variety now known as the Thibet mastiff, the remarkable peculiarity of "the skin of the eyebrows forming a fold which runs down the sides of the face," being conspicuously preserved in the bas-relief.

* Institut. of Menu, iv. 216.

This fine breed exceeds the English mastiff in size and in ferocity, but is warmly attached to its owners. It is covered with a rough hair of a black colour on the body, becoming rufous on the face and limbs; the lips are pendulous, and the tail curls over the back. A pair were brought to this country a few years ago from the Himalaya mountains, but they soon died. The race is found to degenerate if removed from the elevated regions which are their native home; it dwindles even in Nepaul. Yet this breed is probably the original of the mastiffs of Western Europe.

We do not learn that these noble dogs are now employed in any other service than that of watching the flocks and encampments of the Tibetan mountaineers, an office which they fulfil with exemplary courage and faithfulness. But in ancient times they were prized for their great strength and courage, fitting them for that kind of hunting which consisted in the extirpation of savage beasts. There can scarcely be a doubt that the Indian dogs so celebrated by the Greeks were Tibetan mastiffs, the dogs of the Indi and Seri (the modern Affghans) specimens of which, of gigantic stature, were presented to Alexander the Great. The ancients say that these Indian dogs would attack even the greater *carnivora*, and some (as J. Pollux and Plutarch) go so far as to affirm that they declined to combat with any less than the lion. Pliny* speaks of dogs belonging to a king of Albania, (which according to Strabo were of the Indian breed), which killed a

* Hist. Nat. viii. 40.

lion, and so worried an elephant that he fell exhausted. And Ælian has recorded a horrible story* of an Indian dog, which suffered himself to be cut to pieces limb by limb, rather than let go his hold, a narrative which quite eclipses Goldsmith's well known account of an English bull-dog.

Herodotus (i. 192,) says that the governor of Babylon after its capture by Cyrus kept such a number of Indian dogs, that four considerable towns in the plain were exempted from all other taxes, and appointed to supply food for the dogs. He tells us also (vii. 187) that an unmentionable number of these Indian dogs accompanied Xerxes' army into Greece. Were they then used by the Persians in battle?

The molossus of Epirus was very eminent for the same qualities, and was probably of the same race; the lion, tiger, panther, leopard, and boar, were in turn mastered by dogs of this kind. The ancients speak too of a Hyrcanian dog of great size, strength, and courage, which qualities were reputed to be increased by the breed being crossed with the tiger. This, however, was certainly a fable. It is not impossible, as Mr. Martin suggests, that these Hyrcanian dogs may have been cheetahs or hunting leopards, which have been, from time immemorial, used by the Orientals in the chase.

Besides the mention of Nimrod and of Esau, the Scriptures take little notice of hunting, except by incidental allusions, which yet are sufficient to show that it was familiarly practised by the Hebrews.

* Nat. Anim. viii. 1.

"Canaan," observes Wase, "was hemmed in with deserts: there was the great Lebanon, and there was Mizpeh, and Tabor, and other mountains which abounded with game; and in the royall age, I beleeeve hunting itself was much frequented; for though the sacred history do not, *ex professo*, take care to deliver us anything concerning these lighter recreations, yet the frequent representations made by it throughout the writers of that age, do give some probability that it was a frequent object among them, and taken from the common use. David's persecutions are sometimes likened to fowling, oftentimes to hunting; his enemies dig a pit for him, they set a snare to catch his feet. No authors of human learning, whose works yet survive, make so much mention of *gins* as the Psalmcs have made; his enemies bend the bow, and make their arrows ready upon the string to shoot at the righteous. This was Esau's artillery. . . . David's enemies hide a net for him. (Ps. cxl. 5). Neither was it unknown to the Jewish huntsmen the way of driving beasts by an immission of fear, which is the *formido et pinnatum*, &c."*

The passages in which fullest mention is made of the stratagems and devices employed in hunting are the following.

The steps of his strength shall be straitened, and his own counsel shall cast him down. For he is cast into a net by his own feet, and he walketh upon a snare. The gin shall take him by the heel, and the robber shall prevail against him. The snare is laid for him in the ground, and a trap for him in the way. Terrors shall make him afraid on every side, and shall drive him to his feet. Job xliii. 7—11.

* Gratius, De Venatione, Englished by C. Wase. 1654. Preface.

Fear, and the pit, and the snare, are upon thee, O inhabitant of the earth. And it shall come to pass, that he who fleeth from the noise of the fear shall fall into the pit; and he that cometh up out of the midst of the pit shall be taken in the snare. Isa. xxiv. 17, 18.

This "fear," (the *formido*, *linea pinnata*, and *δίσματα θηρών*, of the classics,) was a line of great length, to which tufts of feathers were tied; being extended through the woods, the continual fluttering of the feathers in the wind prevented the timorous beasts from passing the boundary.* The same method is practised in Sicily at this day; and, what is singular, it existed just as described, among the Red Indians of Newfoundland, who hunted the wild reindeer by its means.

The "straitening of the steps" of the hunted animal, to which the Book of Job refers, whereby "he is cast into a net by his own feet," appears to allude to the inclosing of a large space with walls of net-work or some other barrier, gradually approaching each other, until the outlet leads to an inclosure, whither the animals are driven, and where they are either captured alive, or killed by wholesale. Elephants are taken in India and in Ceylon in this manner, which has been described by Pliny and Arrian, and, in modern times, with great felicity of detail by Mr. Corse.

The length of the nets sometimes used by the ancients was astonishing. Plutarch† mentions hunting-nets above twelve miles long. With these large tracts of country were inclosed, by which all the animals of all kinds therein were forced into a nar-

* See Oppian, *Cyneg.* iv. 389.

† Life of Alexander.

row space at the end, where the slaughter was performed.

— Simul hirtus aper, simul ursa, lupusque
Cogitur, et captas contemnit cerva leones.—STAT. *Achill.* i. 465.

Instead of the walls of nets, or of felled trees, walls of living men are often employed by the Oriental princes, who, by shouts and the clashing of weapons, force the animals onward, and hem them in, until they reach the place whither they are intended to be driven. Something like this practice was adopted in the later periods of Assyria. Xenophon alludes to this in a passage of some interest. "The son of the king of Assyria, being to celebrate his nuptials, had a mind at that time to hunt; and hearing that there was plenty of game upon the borders of the Assyrians and Medes, they having not been hunted because of the war between the nations; hither he desired to go. That he might hunt therefore securely, he took with him a body of horse, and another of light-armed foot, who were to drive the beasts out of their fastnesses into the open cultivated country."*

The prophet Ezekiel, in his allegory of the history of Israel under the similitude of a young lion (xix. 1—9), evidently alludes to this mode of hunting, by raising the whole country against a wild beast, by inclosing him with nets, and by thus driving him into a pit, in order to take him alive for a royal show. (See especially ver. 8). The impotent rage of "a wild bull in a net" is alluded to by Isaiah (li. 20).

In Alexander's conquest of Bactria he found

* Ashley's *Cyrop.* i.

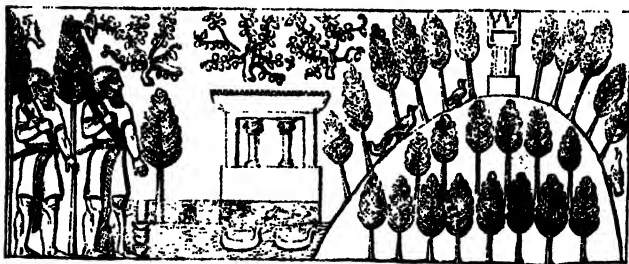
the country studded with parks or paradises, somewhat similar to the forests of our Norman kings, in which wild animals were allowed to breed undisturbed for the diversion of the monarch. One of these was reported to have remained undisturbed for four generations. A spot well wooded, and supplied with water, was inclosed with lofty walls, and then stocked with all kinds of wild beasts. Xenophon speaks of such a paradise of great extent belonging to Cyrus, near the source of the Mæander; and the desert space confined within the walls of fallen Babylon was turned to this ignoble purpose by the Parthian kings.

It was in the undisturbed park of Bazaria, probably near the modern Bokhara, that the Macedonian conqueror encountered the lion, whose death is recorded as a proof of his prowess. The king was on foot, and in front of his armed retainers, when an enormous lion, roused from his lair, faced him, and prepared for his spring. Lysimachus, who had himself killed a lion in single combat, on the banks of the Euphrates, interposed to preserve his sovereign from the danger; but Alexander, jealous of his honour, ordered him to retire, saying that he, too, could kill lions. Accordingly he received the lordly savage on the point of his hunting-spear, as he was making his bound, and that with so much judgment and courage, that the wound was instantly fatal. Four thousand head of wild beasts were slaughtered in this royal preserve.

From the immense range of country over which these paradises were maintained, extending through thirty degrees of longitude, from Asia Minor to

Bactria, and from the antiquity of the period up to which we trace them, the time of Cyrus, and four generations, at least before Alexander,—we cannot well err in concluding them to have been used by the later Assyrian kings, if indeed they were not, as Mr. Layard supposes, the inventors of them.* Indeed in the Khorsabad palace, there was a hall,† the sculptured decoration of which consisted of bas-reliefs which probably represented such a scene.

In a country thickly covered with trees, the conical form of which as well as the angle of their ramification indicates the pine family, a tall mountain is represented, whose sides and summit are clothed with a forest of the same timber. These peculiarities probably point at a northern region among the mountains of Media or Armenia. The very apex of the



ASSYRIAN PARADISE.

hill is crowned by a fluted pillar of elegant form, perhaps marking the boundaries of the Assyrian dominions.‡ At the foot of the mountain is a lake,

* Nineveh and its Remains, ii. 432.

† Botta, pl. 108—114.

‡ "If no convenient rock could be found, or if the king wished to mark the boundaries of his dominions, a square pillar or slab was erected, as on

apparently with paved edges, surrounded by a garden planted with shrubs and fruit-trees. In the midst of these, close to the water's edge, stands a little kiosk or pavilion, the structure of which is *distyle in antis*, or presenting two columns in a portico. The columns have capitals with double volutes, almost exactly the same as those of the Ionic order. The palace is raised on a platform of masonry, the front part of which seems to project over a portion of the lake, supported by low pillars springing out of the water. The roof is flat, projecting with a sloping cornice, and bounded by a battlemented wall cut in gradines.* The lake is stocked with fish, and two small boats float upon its waters, for the use of the royal owner.

To this pavilion the monarch is seen approaching in his chariot, accompanied by his charioteer, and the eunuch who holds the parasol over his head. He is not armed, but carries in his left hand a bunch of the blue lotus lily, the "Sacred bean" of the ancients, and holds up his open right hand as if in the act of speaking. Before the chariot march the guards in pairs, two armed with the spear, two with the mace, but wearing no helmet nor other arms, except

the summit of the pass of Kel-i-Shin, in the high mountains dividing Assyria from Media."—Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii. 182.

The plains and mountains of Sultanieh are at present the hunting-ground of the Shah of Persia, where antelopes, partridges, and bustards, are found in abundance.—Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 205.

* In the magnificent 'Voyage en Perse' of Messrs. Flandin and Coste, there are several examples of modern palatial architecture, which bear a striking resemblance in essential points to this. Such are the palace of Tehar-Bâch at Ispahan (pl. 57); the House of Hossein Khan at Tabriz (pl. vii.); and especially the Kiosk or pavilion at Haineh Khâneh at Ispahan (pl. xliiv.).

the sword in the girdle. Several horsemen follow their lord, the foremost carrying a long spear or lance, the others unarmed.

Behind this group, but separated by a slab which no longer exists, is a party whom the king may be supposed to have left still engaged in the pursuit of game. It consists of many men on horseback and on foot, and some eunuchs. One of these last alone is represented as using the bow, and he is in the act of shooting at a bird, but from the position of an arrow in another bird in the act of falling, there were probably other bowmen in slabs that are now defaced. The horsemen urge on their galloping steeds, with a short whip of three points; another, having tucked his whip beneath his girdle, holds his hunting spear in his hand. Some of the sportsmen have dismounted, leaving their horses in the care of grooms, for such we suppose them to be from their peculiar dress, they alone being decorated with the pearly belt that distinguishes the grooms mentioned as bringing the royal chariot in the preparation for a journey. (See *ante* p. 165.) These grooms and other men carry the game that is killed, holding it just as we should, the hares by the hind legs, the birds by the feet, or by the wings.

Many birds are represented, some in flight, some on the trees, and others on the ground. Several are running up the sides of the mountain in the rear of the lake. Though conventionally drawn, there is evidently an attempt at discrimination of species, but not sufficient to enable us to do more than guess at two or three. One, from its hooked beak and from its action, running up the perpendicular trunk

of a tree,—may probably be a bird of the cuckoo family; a large bird several times repeated, with the two central feathers much longer than the rest, is perhaps the pheasant, as it is evidently an object of desire to the sportsmen, and the mountain woods



SHOOTING PARTY.

of Armenia are the native haunts of that fine bird. Some without any conspicuous tail-feathers are probably partridges and quails, both of which are hunted eagerly in those mountains to this day. But the most interesting is a large bird which appears from its form, gait, and arching tail, to be our common cock; it is walking freely on the ground in the midst of the trees. How far this may be evidence of the early presence of the poultry-fowl in Western Asia, we will not presume to decide; it is certain that it was known to the early Greek writers as no recent introduction.* Two species of Jungle-fowl

* The cock and hen are distinctly represented in the Xanthian sculptures of an era probably contemporaneous with the Lower Dynasty of Assyria. They appear also on Etruscan paintings probably of a higher antiquity. (See Mrs. Gray's *Etruria*, pp. 28, 45.) In Hindostan, its native country, the cock was domesticated in a very remote antiquity,

(*Gallus Sonnerättii* et *G. Stanleyi*) are at present found wild in the Western Ghauts of Hindostan; the former of which has been assumed to be the original of our domestic breeds.

No beasts are depicted except hares, and these only dead ones in the hands of the attendants.

Two curious objects appear in the forest: on the top of a stout staff, like the trunk of a tree denuded of branches, is fixed a circular disk, ornamented with a radiating pattern, like some of the shields of the same era; it is painted red, and reminds us of the targets set up in modern archery. Another disk (or shield?) of similar form bears the figure of a lion on its surface, the tail curved over the back: the slab, however, is unfortunately so defaced that a portion of the disk is gone, and nothing remains, except its elevated position, to show whether it also was set on a pole, like the former. The use of these objects we cannot conjecture.

We think there can be no doubt that we have here an original representation of an Asiatic park or *παράδεισος*, with its provisions for the recreation and enjoyments of its royal owner. The mountain locality, the lake, the fishes, the pleasure-skiffs, the palace, the garden, the abundance of game, the presence of the king and the occupation of his retinue, all agree well with what the Greeks have handed down to us concerning the nature and intention of those inclosures.

perhaps as early as the 12th century B.C; for in the Institutes of Menu, which Sir W. Jones assigns to that age, we read of "the breed of the town-cock" (v. 12); and of the practice of cock-fighting (ix. 222).

C O S T U M E.

She doted upon the Assyrians her neighbours, captains and rulers [clothed with blue, *ver. 6*] clothed most gorgeously, horsemen riding upon horses, all of them desirable young men. . . . She saw men portrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans portrayed with vermillion, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity. Ezek. xxiii. 12—15.

I clothed thee also with brodered work, and shod thee with badgers' skin, and I girded thee about with fine linen, and I covered thee with silk. I decked thee also with ornaments, and I put bracelets upon thy hands, and a chain on thy neck. And I put a jewel on thy forehead, and earrings in thine ears, and a beautiful crown upon thine head. Thus wast thou decked with gold and silver; and thy raiment was of fine linen, and silk, and brodered work. Ezek. xvi. 10—13.

THE love of personal adornment, compounded doubtless of the natural admiration which we feel for that which is beautiful, and the self-love which prompts us to associate ourselves with it, is not confined to any age or region, but prevails among the most savage and the most refined nations. But among the Asiatic races, this feeling has acquired the intensity of a passion, especially among the inhabitants of the Euphratean basin and the regions immediately adjoining. The plain of Shinar in very early times was celebrated for the gorgeousness of

its robes, as appears from the "goodly Babylonish garment" which was found in the spoil of Ai (Josh. vii. 21), and caused such trouble to Israel. And at a later era this celebrity was by no means diminished. The Greek and Roman writers have left us abundant testimony to the splendour of Babylonish apparel. The mantles wrought on the Euphrates found their way to the western world, principally through the Phœnician traders, and were held in high esteem. They were of brilliant and various colours, generally arranged in figured patterns, probably resembling those of modern Turkey carpets. We cannot certainly gather from the loose manner in which they are described, whether the colours were painted or dyed on the stuffs, whether they were interwoven in the loom, or were embroidered with the needle. Perhaps all these modes were in use.* But it is certain that from their glossiness and tasteful combination of beautiful colours, they produced a very rich and splendid effect; they were also very costly, and considered as indicative of great luxury in the wearers. The stern and rugged Cato gave a testimony against the effeminacy and voluptuousness of

* Martial, in praising the beauty of the textile fabrics of Egypt, says, "the shuttle of Memphis has at length surpassed the Babylonian needle." (Epig. xiv.) According to Pliny, the loom was the medium used at Babylon. "Coloured dresses," he observes, "were known in the time of Homer, . . . but from the Phrygians having been the first to invent a method of producing the same effect with the needle, these garments have been called *Phrygiones*. But to weave cloth with gold thread was the invention of an Asiatic king, Attalus, . . . and the Babylonians were most noted for their skill in *weaving cloths* of various colours." Plin. xxxiii. 3.

his age, when (according to Plutarch) having received by inheritance a Babylonian mantle, he commanded it to be immediately sold.

The fondness of the Medes for dress and personal decoration was proverbial. Xenophon repeatedly alludes to it. He describes Astyages, "set out and adorned, with his eyes and complexion painted, and with false hair," as using only a style commonly allowed by his nation, "for the purple coat, the rich habit called *candys*,* collars about the neck, and bracelets around the wrists, all belong to the Medes."† The same author in another passage mentions with animadversion their soft couches, the carpets for their feet, "that the floors might not by resistance make a noise, but that the carpets might break the sound;" the "garments with which they covered their heads, their bodies and their feet," and, as these were not enough, the "*hair-gloves upon their hands*," and the parasols under whose shadow they walked.‡

The Persians, the gorgeous splendour of whose attire is an unfailing theme of admiration with the Greek writers, were at first a simple and hardy people, but soon learned the habits of their effeminate and luxurious neighbours, the Medes. It is observable as showing the proverbial splendour of dress of the latter, that after the conquest of Babylon, and the

* The Persian *candys* was a sleeved robe, hanging over the shoulders. That of the king was of purple, that of the grantees was edged with purple. It was sometimes composed of skins (*δερμάτω*), or perhaps trimmed with furs. Jul. Pollux, vii. 13. It appears to have been an inner garment.

† Cyrop. i.

‡ Ibid. viii.

possession of universal empire, the very quintessence of magnificence was "the Median robe," which henceforward became the dress of honour. Cyrus, in disposing everything "so as to appear *most beautiful and noble*, distributed the finest robes to the greatest men, and then produced other garments, all of the Median sort. For he had provided them in great numbers, and was not sparing either of the purple habits, or those of a dark colour, or of the scarlet, or of the murrey (or mulberry colour). And these he distributed to the commanders." We shall see that these Median robes were probably of silk.

The value attached to raiment, as being reckoned, with gold and silver, among the most precious treasures, is shown by many passages in the Sacred Scripture; and the custom just alluded to, a custom of very great antiquity, (Gen. xli. 42) of conferring splendid garments and ornaments as an expression of the royal favour, indicates the same habit of feeling. The custom has continued in full force to the present time, in all the Oriental countries, but is most conspicuous in Persia. There the *Khelat* or dress of honour is the chief of the rewards and dignities which the sovereign can bestow, just as it was when Mordecai was clad "in the royal apparel of blue and white, and with a great crown of gold, and with a garment of fine linen and purple." (Esth. viii. 15).

"All the circumstances," observes Mr. Morier, "attendant upon the reception of the *khelat* being the greatest criterions by which the public may judge of the degree of influence which the receiver has at court, every intrigue is exerted during the

preparation of the royal *khelat*, that it may be as indicative of the royal favour as possible. The person who is the bearer of it, the expressions used in the *firman* announcing its having been conferred, and the nature of the *khelat* itself, are all circumstances which are discussed as matters of the most momentous importance and interest by the Persian public. The *khelat* usually consists of a *kaba*, or close coat, a *bala push*, or outer garment, a fine shawl for the head, and another for the girdle. If the *khelat* is designed to be splendid, the *bala push* is of gold brocade, and lined with fur, and the shawls are costly Indian ones; and when it is intended to be in all respects complete, and of the highest distinction, the articles composing it are exactly the same as those which the ancient Persian monarchs are described by the Greek historians as bestowing on those they designed to honour; namely, in addition to the dress, a horse with a golden bridle, a chain of gold, and a sword in a golden sheath. If any of these articles have been used by the king himself, the honour is the greater."

We shall presently have occasion to allude to the glittering splendour of the state dresses worn by the Shah of Persia, but for the present shall content ourselves with observing that nothing comparable to it is known in the world beside.

The Holy Scriptures, as we have seen, in their brief allusions to Assyrian manners, intimate that they also partook of the passion for magnificent vestments. Ezekiel repeatedly mentions the gorgeous clothing of the captains and rulers, which

is particularly described as *blue* (the royal Persian colour, Esth. viii. 15), and Nahum speaks of the valiant men as clad in scarlet (Nah. ii. 3), by which colour is probably meant what we should now call *crimson*.

The sculptures, though they give copious representations of the king and the grandees of Assyria, afford us little light on the colours or materials of the garments that invested them; the medium of preservation admits only of the tradition of forms, but by these alone we are able to infer somewhat of the richness of costume that adorned the court of Nineveh.

Long, flowing robes, more or less loose, have always been characteristic of Asiatic dress; but the form and fashion of the constituent garments differ among different nations more than is commonly supposed. The imperfect perspective employed by the Assyrian artists, who knew not how to foreshorten, and the absence of all folds in the bas-reliefs, produce much difficulty in our minds when we would describe from these monuments the mode in which the garments were cut, and the manner in which they were put on. The Persian sculptures, however, of the Achæmenian dynasty, only a little later in point of antiquity, may afford us some help, especially as during the execution of these, folds began to be introduced in statuary.

At Persepolis, king Darius is represented clad in a *caftan* or robe of great fulness, reaching to the ankles, but gathered up at the girdle on each side, so as to fall in one, or sometimes two, groups of

perpendicular folds. Over this is a large cape or tippet, which reaches as far as the wrists when the arms hang down by the side, but is hollowed out in front as high as the waist, to admit of the projection of the sword-sheath at the girdle. Shoes slashed across the instep protect the feet, and the head is crowned with a cylindrical tiara.

The attendants on the monarch wear a *camees* or shirt reaching to the knee, shown in these figures by the shortness of the coat, which extends to the thighs, and is open all up the front, the corners square, and

a little produced. Over this is a cape, shorter than that of the king, and open in front nearly up to the throat. The feet are protected by boots, half-leg high, without trowsers.

A costume like this seems to have been common to several nations of Western Asia. It is represented in Egyptian sculptures on figures which, from the accessories of the scenes, as well as from hieroglyphic inscriptions, are proved to be the inhabitants of Lebanon. And in the brilliantly-coloured and perfectly-preserved paintings in the tomb of Rameses-Mei-Amun, it distinguishes figures considered to



DARIUS.

represent the people of Tyre. Nor is its magnificence unworthy of that "crowning city;" for the shirt appears to be of fine linen, and the coat and cape of woollen cloth, each dyed of two colours, half being scarlet, and half deep blue or purple.



(From an Egyptian painting.)

The figures of Xerxes at Persepolis are dressed (as are those of his parasol-bearer and fly-flapper) nearly in the same fashion as Darius, but the *cape* is free only at the sides, where it forms

very loose sleeves, the back being of one piece, with the *caftan*, as appears by the girdle being shown there.*

The four-winged figure of Cyrus at Pasargadæ has a very different vesture. It is a long robe reaching from the neck to the ankles, rather closely fitting the person, without any attempt at folds. It is open all down one side, where the edge over-

* This seems the only approach which the sculptures present to the *sleeved tunic*, which, according to Strabo (lib. xii.), the Persians adopted from the Modes. It is worthy of remark that very broad sleeves are still a striking peculiarity in the costume of the Koords, the inhabitants of what was ancient Media. "The Pasha's sleeves are at least a yard and a half in breadth at the wrist."—Perkin's Residence in Persia, 382.

laps in such a way as to suggest that it consisted of a large piece of cloth wound round and round the body. It has an embroidered border and an edging of fur. There is no trace of a cape, but the garment



is furnished with short sleeves, reaching nearly to the elbow. He wears no mitre,* but a singular ap-

* Xenophon describes Cyrus in public procession as appearing with a mitre that was raised high above his head, a vest of purple mixed with white (probably in stripes); a mixture denied to any but the sovereign; over this he wore a robe of purple only, and boots on his legs of yellow leather; the historian mentions expressly the diadem or wreath that encircled the royal mitre, and speaks of it as worn by the king's relatives also. *Cyrop.* viii. The boots of yellow leather have descended to the present day.

pendage closely resembling that on some Egyptian idols (as Chnumis and Sevek-ra); which as well as his eagle-wings, probably indicates a mythological or sacerdotal, rather than a royal aspect, in which he was intended to appear. We know that Cyrus ordinarily wore the royal mitre or tiara.

Let us now turn to the monuments from Nimroud. In the scene, already alluded to, where the monarch appears seated on a stool-throne, receiving a cup in the presence of his priests,—we find him arrayed in a robe, closely resembling that of Cyrus; a loose wrapper folding-over down one side, coming up close around the neck, and furnished with close sleeves terminating a little above the elbow. This robe has the whole breast, and a wide border, covered with mythological figures and scenes, most exquisitely and delicately embroidered with the needle, or painted with the pencil. An inner robe, the edge of which is seen below that of the former, has a similar border of embroidering. The outer robe has a broad edging of a material, which from its identity with the conventional mode of representing the coats of sheep, goats, &c., is, without a doubt, intended for fur.

A narrow belt or ribbon, edged on one side with fur three or four times its own width, passes over the left shoulder, and down to the right hip, over the girdle (which encircles the robe), and over the sword-hilt: and a sort of cape (or scarf, for it is difficult to tell its real character) hangs down behind the shoulders to the waist, the end of which is richly embroidered and fringed with tassels.



EMBROIDERED ROBE (*Nimrouz*).

On ordinary occasions, the wrapped robe was exchanged for a mantle, open up each side to the shoulders, thus forming two hanging portions, reaching nearly to the feet, the corners of one portion, sometimes of both, being rounded. The borders were generally embroidered in a pattern of rosettes, and edged either with fur, or a fringe of tassels closely resembling that of our bed-furniture, &c.*



SPENCER AND SKIRT

Sometimes the undergown is represented as cut short in front, on a level with the knees, while the hinder portion descends to the ankles; the margin of the former, like that of the latter, is fringed and tasseled, and from the angle on each side, or perhaps from a higher point, descend two long cords with terminating tassels, each pair sometimes knotted

together. When this form of the undergown is worn, it is accompanied by a corresponding abbreviation of the front portion of the divided mantle. It is seen principally on the winged priests; who

* Fringe, identically the same in form and construction, in which the tassels are made of gold and silver thread alternately, or of coloured silk, —is used now by the native princes of India, for bordering their state parasols, and other furniture.

appear sometimes to have worn an outer mantle composed entirely of fur.*

Out of doors, as when engaged in hunting or in battle, the early Assyrian kings and grandees often wore a close-fitting jacket or spencer; from the hinder part of which descended, to about half-way down the thighs, a curious appendage, a square piece of cloth, in general elaborately embroidered, even when the other garments were plain, and furnished at each corner with two long cords terminating in tassels.

The ordinary dress of the Assyrian men was a plain robe, with the margin embroidered and edged with a fringe. Eunuchs commonly, but not always, wore it very long, reaching to the feet; that of men more generally reached only to the calf of the leg, or to the knees. The width of the marginal embroidery appears to have borne some proportion to the rank of the wearer; the grooms, and such like persons, often were destitute of it, their garment being only fringed; yet this rule was not without exceptions, for sometimes the vizier's robe was profusely embroidered, when that of the monarch before whom he stood, displayed comparatively little of this decoration.

In the time of the Lower Dynasty the ordinary dress of the king differed less in the general form than in the style of its decoration, from that of the early monarchs. That in which Shalmaneser is

* Layard, pls. 7 and 7a.



SHALMANESER AND HIS VIZIER.

commonly figured was very beautiful. It consisted of an under-gown or *castan*, fitting rather close to the body, and reaching from the neck to the ankles; furnished with short sleeves tightly embracing the upper arm, and terminating sufficiently high to display the encircling armlets. This garment was either embroidered or woven in an elaborate but regular pattern, such as that composed of the repetition of a square figure of double lines, with a central rosette or star. The usual broad fringe of tassels formed the lower extremity, sometimes united at their tips by an edging of four rows of beads, probably pearls.

Over this gown was thrown the divided mantle; the skirts of which, one before and one behind, hung in a very elegant manner, about as low as the knees, with both extremities rounded. A pattern of embroidered work covered its whole surface, composed of a circular, many-petalled flower, or rosette, repeated in quincuncial order; the margin was a pattern like that of the under gown, and was edged with a broad fringe instead of fur. The edging and fringe running up on each side of the lateral openings, and falling over the shoulders in front, imparted much elegance to this rich garment. At the waist a sort of pocket was formed, open at each end, beneath the edging and the fringe, through which the sword in its highly ornamented sheath passed horizontally, the hilt projecting in front, and the tip extending to some distance behind the royal person.

When we describe this mantle as opened up *each* side, we do but speak conjecturally; for the sculp-

tures can only represent *one* side. It is just possible that one side only may have been open, in which form it would present an analogy to those very singular garments which are seen on so many Asiatic



A SEMITIC COSTUME.

(From an Egyptian painting.)

figures in the monuments of ancient Egypt, and in particular by some of the gorgeously coloured representatives of Semitic nations in the tomb of Rameses-Mei-Amun.* One of these, a man of the Tehen-nu (supposed by some to be the Hittites) is here represented.

Some of the sculptures suggest the thought that the opening was single, and extended up the front; and only represented up the side by the artists' deficiency of a knowledge of drawing.

But there are some representations which preclude this explanation, such for example as that of a female accompanying some camels, on a slab from the Central Palace of Nimroud, now in the British Museum. It is true this female is a captive from some foreign people; but the costume is evi-

* See Osburn's 'Egypt; Her Testimony to the Truth,' pp. 25, 42, 125, &c., for a description of this dress, and for the identification of those who wore it, "the Namoos," with an Euphratean race.

dently identical with that under consideration; which indeed, was worn by several of the tribes, with which the Assyrians habitually warred.*

It is by no means improbable that it was commonly worn by the Hebrew race; and that the word כנף (*kanaph*), rendered *skirt* in the following and other passages, but which literally signifies a *wing*, refers to the long fringed wing-like divisions of this sort of mantle.

Spread therefore thy skirt over thine handmaid; for thou art a near kinsman. Ruth iii. 9.

And as Samuel turned about to go away, he [that is, Saul, apparently] *laid hold upon the skirt of his mantle, and it rent.* 1 Sam. xv. 27.

Then David arose, and *cut off the skirt of Saul's robe privily.* 1 Sam. xxiv. 4.

If one bear holy flesh in the skirt of his garment, and with his skirt do touch bread, or pottage, or wine, or oil, or any meat, shall it be holy? Hag. ii. 12.

Thus saith the LORD of hosts, In those days it shall come to pass, that ten men shall *take hold*, out of all languages of the nations, even shall *take hold of the skirt* of him that is a Jew. Zech. viii. 23.

We have marked with Italics those words which in the above passages appear to us favourable to the supposition, that the form of the skirted mantle of the Jews was very similar to that of the Assyrian.

The officers of the court, in the Khorsabad era, wore a long gown similar in form to that of the king, but unadorned, except at the lower edge, where the border, the fringe of tassels, and the rows of pearls (?) were the same as on the garment of their master: its short sleeves had no border. It fitted close to the shape, and was encircled at the waist by a girdle,

* The Phœnicians for example. See p. 392, *ante*.

apparently of loose texture; perhaps like that which Josephus describes as worn by the Jewish priests, "so loosely woven that you would think it were the skin of a serpent."* Over this was worn a vest of singular form; it was wholly of fur, with the exception of a broad belt of embroidered work which formed its upper margin, and passed obliquely over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The fur of the body of this garment was disposed in two layers, of which the upper was oblique, and parallel to the belt, the lower was horizontal. This curious vest will be better understood by a reference to the figures on pp. 157, and 158.

The use of furs was nearly general among all the Asiatic tribes settled in countries above the 40° of N. lat. The Scythians used cloaks of fur. They were also worn in Babylon, being considered a necessary to wealth, rank, and beauty. Furs are among the presents of the governors, represented on the great relief of Persepolis; and this object of luxury was in great estimation among the Indians from the most ancient times.†

In the Ramâyana (i. 605), we find mention of furs among the costly presents made to a princess by her father on the occasion of her marriage.‡

* Antiq. III. vii. 2.

† Heeren's Researches ii. 284, 296.

‡ Robes trimmed with fur are very much worn in Persia at this day. In the *khelut*, or royal present of raiment, there is usually a *bala push*, or pelisse of gold brocade, lined with the finest furs. Sir Robert Ker Porter, describing the magnificent ceremonial of the Nurooz, notices the princes of the blood in terms highly illustrative of the costume of the Assyrian court. "They were all superbly habited, in the richest brocade vests and shawl-girdles, from the folds of which glittered the jewelled

In the sculptures of the same era there is often represented a long pointed piece of fringe, attached to a very narrow strip of cloth, merely sufficient to carry it, hanging down on the right side to the middle of the leg. It much resembled a wing in form, and was worn only when the garments were very short. We incline to think from several appearances, though we cannot positively assert the fact, that in every period, it was not unusual to wrap a very long narrow strip of fur or fringe, round and round the body, crossing over the shoulders, over the breast, and around the waist, with many circumvolutions; and it may be that this wing-like appendage was the end, allowed to hang loose. Narrow lappets of this sort, always fringed, seem to have been favourite appendages, appearing on various parts of the attire.



FRINGED LAPPET.

The copious use of fringes appears from the evidences of their daggers. Each wore a robe of gold stuff, lined and deeply collared *with the most delicate sables*, falling a little below the shoulder, and reaching to the calf of the leg. Around their black caps they also had wound the finest shawls. Every one of them, from the eldest to the youngest, wore bracelets of the most brilliant rubies and emeralds, just above the bend of the elbow."

dence of Egyptian, as well as Assyrian and Babylonian monuments to have been highly characteristic of the costume of Western Asia. Æschylus repeatedly* alludes to fringe (λαλῆς) upon the robes of the Egyptian ladies; no trace of such an appendage, however, appears on the numerous monuments of Ancient Egypt, on native costume.† Perhaps he confounded the "purpled stoles" of Western Asia with the costume of Egypt, or the latter may have adopted them in his time from her Persian conquerors. And we know that they were distinctly commanded to the Jewish people by solemn, express, and repeated ordinances of their law, whence it has been inferred that there was some recognized religious idea attached to them.

Speak unto the children of Israel, and bid them that they make them fringes in the borders of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of the borders a riband of blue: and it shall be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and do them. Numb. xv. 38, 39.

Thou shalt make thee fringes upon the four quarters of thy vesture, wherewith thou coverest thyself. Deut. xxii. 12.

The term "fringe" in these passages is in the original represented by two distinct words, which are supposed to differ in their meaning. That used in the former (צִיצִית, *zizith*) elsewhere means a lock of hair (Ezek. viii. 3), and was possibly analogous to the *edging of fur* that we see upon the Assyrian mantles. The word of the latter passage (גְּדִלִים, *gedilim*) is supposed to have signified *strings with tassels at the end*, fastened to the corners of the

* Supplicants, *passim*.

† See Wilk. iii. 346.

garment.* If this was so, it is illustrated with singular felicity, by the tasseled cords which hung from the corners of the Assyrian frocks already described. †

Trowsers or drawers were not worn, as far as we can judge, in the early ages, either by the Assyrians or by the nations with whom they had intercourse. The knees of the warriors that are depicted with very short frocks, are naked; and the reversal of the loose garments on wounded enemies as they fall from the battlements, shows that nothing of the kind in question was worn by them. In later times, however, the thighs and legs were occasionally covered; though whether we are to regard the covering as armour or raiment, we are not quite certain. We have described its appearance on a previous page.

Herodotus (i. 71.) describes the Persians, before their conquest of the Lydians, as wearing, among other garments, *trowsers of leather*. In the Persepolitan and other Persian sculptures, figures are introduced wearing trowsers, wide and loose, but tight at the ankles, very different in form from those of the later Assyrians, but agreeing closely with those worn by the modern Persians. Strabo asserts with probability, that the tiara, the pileus, sleeved garments, and trowsers were adopted by the Persians from the Medes, remarking that the northern position and mountainous region of the latter made such garments more suitable to them than to their successors. ‡

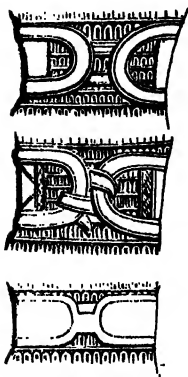
Loose robes, like those of the Assyrians, require

* See Kitto, Pict. Bible, i. 369.

† See engravings on pp. 98 and 101.

‡ Geog. lib. xi.

to be kept about the person by girdles, and we suppose were always so fastened among them; though frequently the cincture does not



GIRDLES.

appear, from an outer robe being thrown over all. Its form was various, but the most common was a very broad plain belt, which appears to have passed more than once round the waist, the last circumvolution becoming much more narrow, and each end terminating in a clasp, of which so great is the variety that scarcely two examples can be found alike.

At Khorsabad the zone was sometimes made of open network, as if knit; and sometimes a narrow elastic web of similar texture was attached to the clasp.*

The colossal lion-cherubs that guarded the portals at Nimroud were girded around the loins with a cincture, resembling a narrow ribbon, tied in a knot, the ends furnished with tassels.

In one of the Nimroud battle scenes† warriors are represented as wearing, in addition to the ordinary belt passing over the right shoulder and supporting the sword, a sort of belt of considerable width, em-

* The girdles worn by the Turks are usually of worsted, very artfully woven into a variety of figures; and they are made to fold several times round the body. The Turks fix therein their knives and poniards.—Shaw's Travels, i. 409, 410.

† Layard, pl. 26.

broidered and edged with fur, passing from the left shoulder to the right waist. They wear short coats, apparently composed of broad parallel plates or folds, embellished with rosettes; perhaps a lorica of leather or linen.

The royal headdress imparted by its height and form dignity to the wearer. It was a sort of mitre or cap, in shape resembling a truncated cone, with a



MITRES (*Nimroud*).

little point or peak, sometimes of two gradations, rising from the centre of the crown. A broad band, or upturned fold of the material, surrounded the base rising to a point above the forehead, and furnished at its hinder part with two long ribbons, which hung down the back. In some instances this band was plain, like the mitre itself, but more commonly it was richly ornamented; divided perpendicularly into compartments, and decorated with one or more beau-

tiful rosettes. The edge of the crown and the peak were sometimes encircled with ornamental bands. From the hinder part depended two long ribbons of coloured material, reaching as low as the waist, each terminated by an ornamental border and a wide fringe.

In the era of the Lower Dynasty the mitre was worn higher, and of a more graceful outline: it was furnished with three bands, more highly decorated with rosettes of large size, and other ornaments.

This conical headdress appears to have been peculiar to the king; it is never seen on any personage but himself, and he is never depicted without it.

That this mitre was identical with the tiara worn by the Persian monarchs, and by them called *cidaris* (*κίδαρις*), is almost certain. We gather from the Greek writers that its form approached that of a cone, terminating in an upright point; and that it was stiff and erect; whereas the common tiara, or *pileus*, worn by the Persians, was, like that of the Assyrians, flexible, and fell over at the summit. It was surrounded by a blue band, (or sometimes one of purple) embroidered with white.* Some have supposed that the body of the *cidaris* was blue, and the band purple and white; others, that by blue we should understand purple, *i.e.*, crimson, rose-red, or flesh-colour.† We shall presently see reason to conclude that the colours might vary.

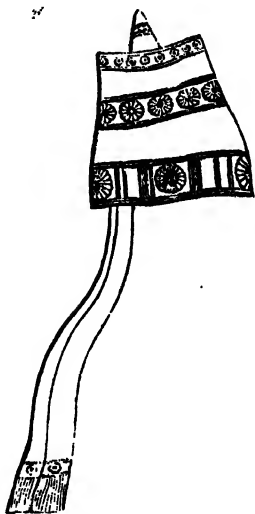
It is very remarkable that no representation of the *cidaris* is found in the sculptures of the Persian monarchs of that era; for the mitre with which they

* Quint. Curt. iii. 3.

† See Lemaire *in loc. cit.*

are furnished in the Achæmenian monuments, differs essentially from this in form and structure, and appears rather to have been borrowed, with modifications, from the cylindrical, horn-encircled mitre with a margin of feathers, that crowns the heads of the human-headed bulls of Khorsabad.

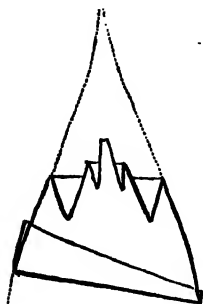
Of what material the Assyrian mitre was made is uncertain. We incline to think that it was of felt, and that in essential structure it did not differ from the ordinary *pileus*, or pointed cap of the common people. We suppose that it was more lengthened in its form,* and that what appears a truncate crown was really an infolding of the surface, which again projected to form the peak. The following diagram will illustrate our notion; in which the dotted lines represent the supposed original shape, and the full lines a sectional outline of the mitre as completed.



MITRE (*Khorsabad*).

* A pointed cap of this very form is seen on the head of the Sacan or Scythian, in the Tablet of Darius at Behistun: it is the same that Ker Porter, oddly enough, supposed to be the pontifical mitre, and to represent the Tribe of Levi.

In the bas-reliefs at Khorsabad, the ground of the mitre is white, and the bands are red, with the



SUPPOSED STRUCTURE OF
THE MITRE.

rosettes and some of the inter spaces white. But on a fragment of a painted tile from the same palace, the mitre itself is red, and the bands white, with the rosettes and other ornaments yellow. If any inference can be legitimately deduced from these premises, we may suppose the mitre and its bands to have been of

these two colours, arranged indifferently; and the ornaments to have been of silver or of gold, or perhaps of precious stones set in these metals.

The mitre of the High Priest of Israel was of fine linen (Exod. xxviii. 39), but the Scripture gives us no information on its form. Josephus sets himself most elaborately to supply the deficiency, but his account is unintelligible. We may gather that it was conical in shape, as he distinguishes the mitres of the common priests by saying that they were *not* conical;—that it was encircled with swathes of blue embroidered, and that it was covered by one piece of fine linen to hide the seams.* The frontal part was covered by a plate of gold, which was tied around the mitre with a ribbon of blue.

* Antiq. III. vii. 8, 6.

High officers of the state,—the “crowned” captains, whom the prophet Nahum (iii. 15) graphically compares to locusts,—were adorned with diadems, closely resembling the lower band of the royal mitre, separated from the cap itself.* Such was that of the vizier; which was broader in front than behind, was adorned with rosettes and compartments, and terminated in two ribbons with em-



broidered and fringed ends, that hung down his back. This diadem and its fillets were sometimes red, with white rosettes. The head of a winged priest found at Nimroud was encircled by a narrow white ribbon, twisted, carrying large rosettes; so coloured as to suggest that they were composed of rubies set in silver.† Another diadem of a priest from Khorsabad was adorned with large rosettes, alternating with oblong blue gems, (?) the settings of which as well as the rosettes, being coloured red, were probably of gold. This diadem ended in a large projecting tassel behind.‡

Very commonly the head was encircled with a simple fillet or hoop, probably of gold, without any adornment; but often the head was entirely bare, even of high officers, and in the open air. Chariot

* The ten thousand principal Persians in Xerxes' army wore crowns (Herod. vii. 55).

† Layard, pl. 92.

‡ Botta, pl. 43.

warriors are seen at Nimroud and Kouyunjik, and hunters at Khorsabad, quite bareheaded; the king never. It is observable that while the diadem of the vizier was broad in front, and narrow behind, that of the chief eunuch was broad behind, and very narrow over the forehead. The latter was plain, except that a round button, probably a jewel, was set in its front.*

A small head in white marble, evidently that of a woman, found in the south-east ruin of Nimroud, and now in the British Museum, has a headdress apparently formed of an elegant veil, tied round the forehead, and thrown gracefully off on the left side behind the ear.†

The hair, both of the head and beard, was remarkably copious, and was evidently tended and cherished with the same elaborate care as that with which it is regarded in the East to this day, or even more. The former descended, in a large mass, carefully curled at the tip into four or five rows of small close-set ringlets, upon the shoulders, where it was supported on each side by a loop formed of the descending mitre-ribbon. The hair was waved, but this effect, if not merely a conventionalism of the artist, was doubtless produced by the hair-dresser. The beard was disposed in small curls all over the face and chin, but, below it, was arranged into a long

* The fine head of marble in the cabinet of the Abbé Fauvel, figured in Montfaucon (tom. iii. pt. 1. pl. 43), and considered by him to be that of a Parthian king, so closely resembles that of an Assyrian officer of state, wearing the diadem, or simple fillet, that it is probable such was the design of the artist. †

† Layard, pl. 95, fig. 7.

square form, reaching to the breast, composed of spiral rouleaus, with series of small curls occurring at regular intervals. The king and the vizier, in early times, had two or three series, each consisting of three or four rows of curls. The fashion in Shalmaneser's time was slightly different; four series of curls interrupted the rouleaus, each composed of but a single row, except the last, which had three rows. Inferior officers, such as the royal grooms, cultivated the same style, but with only one or two rows of curls. The moustache, trimmed and curled, was worn on the upper lip.

The "dyed attire upon their heads" which the prophet Ezekiel describes the Chaldæan princes as wearing, probably alluded to their copious and elaborately trimmed hair and beards, which seem to have been dyed black like those of the modern Persians. Xenophon* describes the Medes of his day as habitually wearing false hair; and some have supposed the ample coiffures of the Assyrians seen in the sculptures to have been artificial. Their amplitude alone is no sufficient reason for such a conclusion; since hair and beards equally voluminous are quite common in the East at this day, especially among the Persians. It is not improbable, however, that false hair was worn, since another fashion mentioned in the same passage as common to the Medes, was certainly practised by the Assyrians. We allude to the staining of the eye-lids, lashes, and brows with a black pigment, to heighten the brilliancy of the eyes by the con-

* *Cyrop.* i.

trast of colour, and to impart a peculiar softness and beauty of expression to those organs. This custom appears to have prevailed among many of the ancient



COIFFURE OF STATUE.

nations; besides those already mentioned, the Egyptians,* Hindoos,† Babylonians,‡ Jews,§ and Romans|| practised it, as do all the modern Mohammedan

* Wilkinson, iii. 380.

† The Institutes of Menu recognise the practice as in use among men (iv. 152) and women (iv. 44);—as well as the scenting of the person in both sexes with essences. (vii. 220).

‡ Nicol. Damasc. See Layard, ii. 333.

§ 2 Kings ix. 30; Jer. iv. 30.

|| With sooty moisture one his eyebrows dyes,
And with a bodkin paints his trembling eyes.

Juv. Sat. ii. 93.

nations. The powder of lead ore, called kohl, is mostly used for this purpose, but sometimes the soot of burnt almonds, or fragrant resins is substituted for it. The tip of a kind of bodkin, being moistened, and dipped into the powder, is inserted between the eyelids, when the motion of the eye instantly diffuses the stain all around the edge. The effect is fine, even to European taste. At present the practice is confined to women, but among the ancient Assyrians, as among the Medes and Romans, it was observed even by men. They used paints and cosmetics also, to increase the delicacy of their complexion; and Mr. Layard informs us that traces of thick black and white pigments remained on the sculptures, particularly on the eyes, eyebrows, and hair, when they were discovered.*

This confirms what Athenæus tells us of the effeminate Sardanapalus:—

“When Arbaces the Median, one of his prefects, wished to see Sardanapalus, and by means of one of the household-eunuchs obtained the privilege,—he found the king painted with white-lead and adorned in womanly fashion, carding purple with his ladies, and sitting on high with them with his feet extended, clothed in a woman’s robe, his beard shaven, and his face rubbed smooth with pumice-stone. He was whiter than milk, and had his eyes and eyebrows pencilled, and actually retouched his eyes with the paint after he had looked upon Arbaces; a sight that filled the Mede with indignant contempt for such a king.”†

* Nineveh and its Remains, ii. 320.

† Athen. xii.

In the shoes or sandals worn, the protection of the heel was the object desired, and not that of the toes. An idea of the form, at least in the latter era, may be obtained by supposing one of our high-heeled slippers to be cut down in a diagonal line to the middle of the foot on each side, the whole front being rejected. It was retained on the heel, by a lacing which passed over the instep, and through three lace-holes on the outer, and two in the inner edge. Where the colours with which the sculptured figures were painted still remain, as in a bas-relief at Khorsabad, we can see that the royal sandals were made of coloured leather, tastefully arranged in alternate bands of blue and orange, or else wholly red, and that the laces display the same two colours, probably being formed of twisted or plaited thongs. In some representations a flexible, thin sole is seen projecting beyond the toes, a little bent up in front of them; but in others nothing of the sort is discerned, though it was probably always present. Affixed to the sole was a stout ring, through which the great toe was passed, while from the ring, or from the sole between the first two toes,* a strap, going to the instep-lace, maintained the whole firmly on the foot.

In the Nimroud era, the sandal, though of the same general form, was longer, the quarters reaching nearly to the base of the toes. The sole was much

* In one of the ivory fragments from Nimroud, representing a human foot, the great toe is widely separated at its base from the rest, in a peculiar manner, which appears to be caused by the habitual presence of a strap between them.

stouter and stiffer. The toe-ring is seen as in the later time, but the arrangement of the thongs was as follows: one proceeded from the toe to the binding



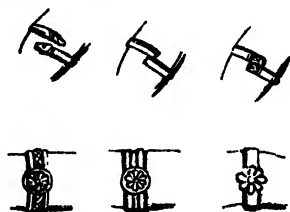
SANDALS.

of the sandal on each side, where there were two small loops or eyes, whence two straps passed across the instep. The toe-ring was sometimes ornamented, and was perhaps formed of precious metal. We perceive that the sandal was not prohibited, as now, by etiquette in courtly scenes, nor by religion as of old among the Hebrews, in those devoted to worship.

From the point where the short sleeves of the robe terminated, which was never so low as the elbows,—the arms were invariably bare of clothing, though commonly encircled with armlets and bracelets. The former were more frequently lacking than the latter; they were situated on the upper arm just above the bend of the elbow. In the Nimroud era each armlet sometimes consisted of a plain ring, doubtless of precious metal, the ends overlapping, so as to allow of their being opened to admit the hand and arm, and closing by their own elasticity when relaxed. Those of the king, and other high personages, occasionally had the two ends made four-sided, and ornamented with an embossed pattern, or fashioned into rams' heads.

At Khorsabad the plain ring was sometimes worn, occasionally with lions' faces for the two ends; but

the common form was that of a rope or *fascia* composed of many parallel wires or strands, bound round at regular intervals by bands of the same. In every case, however, the armlet took two entire turns round the arm (instead of one as at the early period) before the ends overlapped.



ARMLETS AND BRACELETS (*Nimroud*).

These ornaments were in all probability made of gold or silver; and as they were very thick, their weight must have been great. They were, however, we may suppose, not solid, but hollow, like those ancient ones of gold, found by Col. Rose in a sarcophagus on Mount Lebanon; and indeed as they are worn at the present day. The weight, however, of those presented to Rebekah by Abraham's servant was ten shekels, (Gen. xxiv. 22,) or nearly five ounces, which we should find exceedingly fatiguing: custom, however, and vanity, counterbalance inconvenience. In other countries they were worn of much greater weight. William of Malmesbury (ii. 77) states that in the gorgeous ship which our own Earl Godwin sent to Hardicanute, there were eighty soldiers with bracelets of pure gold on both arms, each weighing sixteen ounces. But even these are

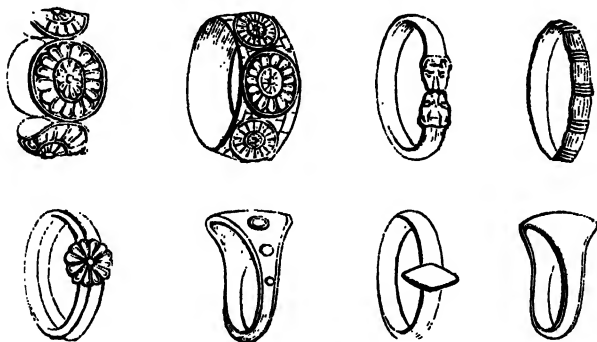
nothing compared with those worn by the early Romans, which according to Petronius Arbiter (§ 67) were of the incredible weight of six and even ten pounds! *

The bracelets worn by the Assyrians on the wrists at first exhibited little variety. The earliest form is that of a plain overlapping ring, exactly like the armlets, with the ends sometimes fashioned into rams' heads. The only variation appears to have been the addition of a large rosette on the outside, probably composed of jewels. In the era of the Lower Dynasty, however, great variety of form and beauty of workmanship were bestowed upon the bracelets, which were very elaborate and delicate specimens of the jeweller's art. Rosettes and other ornaments of precious stones, set in curiously shaped hoops of gold or silver, were common among the forms in use; but the accompanying figures of selected examples, will convey a more distinct idea of them than any description.

The passion for bracelets and armlets has increased rather than diminished in the East, with the lapse of time. The Assyrians never wore more than a single pair of each; but at present, it is not uncommon to see many crowded on each arm, so as to cover the greater part of the space from the wrist to the elbow. A single pair is frequently heavier than

* Bracelets were in use among most ancient nations, from the extreme east of Asia to north-west Europe. They were frequently bestowed as military or royal presents (*Ælian, Hist. i. 22*; *Xenoph. Anab. i. 2, 27, &c.*); or as votive offerings (*Exod. xxxv. 22*).—See the art. *ARMILLA* in the *Peun. Cyclop.*

those given to Rebekah, being, as Chardin has observed, more like manacles than ornaments. The common construction, as of old, is a ring open at one part; the ends are frequently four-sided; and rope-like forms are not unusual. The precious metals are of course preferred by those who can afford them, but steel, copper, pewter, and even horn bracelets are worn by those who can procure no better.



BRACELETS (*Khorsabad*).

Perhaps the most costly examples of armlets that were ever made are those that form a part of the regalia of the Shah of Persia, having been brought by Nadir Shah among the spoils of the Mogul emperors of India. They are described as very broad, and of such dazzling splendour as to blaze like fire when they reflect the sun's rays. The jewels in them are of such size and lustre that the pair are estimated to be worth a million sterling. The principal stones are famous throughout the East. That of the left armlet is called "the Sea of

light;" it weighs 186 carats, and is considered as the diamond of finest water in the world. The chief stone of the other is scarcely less splendid; its weight is 146 carats, and its lustre is denoted by the title "Crown of the moon."

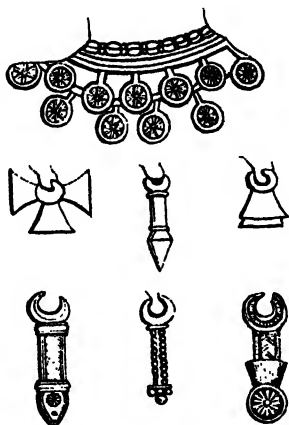
Bracelets (probably including both kinds) were worn by men as well as women among the Hebrews. Judah wore them (Gen. xxxviii. 18), while yet resident in Canaan; and so did King Saul, for "the bracelet that was on his arm," was a part of the spoil of which the Amalekite stripped the body of the fallen monarch in Gilboa (2 Sam. i. 10). It is commonly thought that the bracelet was peculiar to royalty; but it certainly was not so among the Assyrians.

Anklets or bangles around the legs, though common in Ancient Egypt, and throughout modern Asia, were never worn in Assyria, in which the use of jewellery seems not to have been profuse. Nose-rings were also unknown.

The use of ear-rings, however, prevailed at all times. In the Higher Dynasty the most common kind was a thick, almost cylindrical pendent, ornamented with mouldings, and pointed, attached by a small ring to the ear.* This was interchanged with a form resembling three parts of a Maltese cross, of which sometimes the two lateral divisions were wanting. These forms were worn alike by the king and his courtiers. At Khorsabad the ear-pendants were generally more elegant in design and more orna-

* The conical and cylindrical ear-pendants, worn by the ancient Etruscans, may be compared with these.—See Mrs. Gray's *Etruria*, 66.

mented. One, represented on a painted tile,* is yellow, with the edgings and mouldings white; probably intimating that the materials were gold and silver. We should suppose from the appearance of this ornament that it was always made of metal, never of gems or pearls.



NECKLACES AND EAR-RINGS.

Necklaces were worn by the king, priests and high officers in the early period, but were out of fashion at the Khorsabad era. Little variety existed in their form. They consisted of lozenge-shaped gems (or perhaps coloured glasses) strung in one, two, or three series, alternating with round beads. A string was sometimes hung around the king's neck,† from which were suspended little disks evidently of a religious character, representing the sun, the moon, the Maltese cross, (probably

* Botta, pl. 155.

† Layard, pl. 82.

intended for a planet) the horned cap, and the trident.*

As sculpture can in general give only the *forms* of the objects which it represents, and as in these which we are considering the accessory *colours*, which might have aided us greatly if preserved in their original perfection, have only in very few cases survived the lapse of time,—our judgment concerning the *materials* of which those objects were composed must, almost always, be more or less hypothetical. The wonderful preservation, in the arid sepulchres of Egypt, of a multitude of articles of great interest used in ancient times in that country, affords us an extraordinary insight into the habits, manners, science, arts and manufactures of the early world. Future investigations may bring to light from the grave of buried Nineveh, or from the burned heaps of Babylon, similar materials for judgment, but at present we must speak conjecturally of many things, of which a more perfect knowledge would be desirable. We may, however, safely conclude that, by a warlike, luxurious, and polished empire, such as Assyria was at the time of her earliest sculptured records, the resources of nature and art possessed by surrounding nations, would be neither unknown nor unappropriated. The use of precious stones, pearls, and similar productions dates from a very early age. Their brilliancy, colour, hardness, and durability could not fail to be noticed,

* In the city Udyodhya, "none was without ear-rings or a crown, or a necklace; none went unperfumed, or without elegant clothing."—*Ramāyana*, i. § 6.

and their suitability for the purposes of personal adornment would be readily appreciated. The Hebrews at the time of the Exodus were not only in possession of great numbers of these beautiful and costly productions, but were well acquainted with the arts of cutting, polishing, setting, and engraving them (Exod. xxviii. 9—11; 17—21; xxxv. 27, 33). And Sir Gardner Wilkinson has shown* that the Egyptians, at a period still more remote, were skilled in the lapidary's art. Many of the most valuable gems, as the sapphire, the amethyst, and the beryl, are found in the highest perfection in the countries surrounding Assyria; and pearls of the first water have from the earliest times been obtained from the Persian Gulf;† while the commerce of farthest India and Africa that flowed through the mighty mart of Babylon could not leave Nineveh unsupplied with the finest examples of the diamond, and the emerald, the topaz, and the carbuncle. Temen-bar records his conquest of Babylonia in the ninth year of his reign, when, in the city of Shinar, he received the tribute of the kings of the Chaldees, gold, silver, *gems* and *pearls*. "All precious stones" are mentioned (Ezek. xxvii. 22,) among the articles which Arabian merchants brought to the fairs of the princely Tyre, herself a tributary of the Assyrian monarch; and the universal testimony to Phœnician skill in jewellery we have already alluded to.

Precious stones were, largely used by the early

* *Manners of the Anc. Egyptians*, iii. 106.

† "A necklace of twenty seven pearls."—*Ramayana*, i. § 14.

Persians. Every king, from Feridoon downward, added jewels to the famous apron-standard.* The Immortals in the army of Darius, wore gold chains, robes embroidered with gold, and sleeved tunics adorned with gems. The yoke of the royal chariot glittered with precious stones. The scabbard of the king's scymitar was of gems, so compacted that they appeared as one.†

What were the materials of the diverse garments that formed the royal and princely wardrobes of Assyria, and by what means the beautiful devices and patterns that we see upon them were produced, are questions highly interesting in themselves, but we fear incapable of a satisfactory solution. Linen, in all probability, as in Egypt, where it was manufactured of surpassing fineness, was employed for the under garments; on which the elegant but regular patterns that formed the borders, were perhaps dyed,‡ or painted with the pencil.§ The calicoes

* The immense accumulation of these brilliant baubles in the East through the course of ages, may be illustrated by the following facts:—Nadir Shah is said to have carried away from Delhi,—the plunder of the emperor and the omrahs,—jewels to the value of 31,000,000*l.*, besides utensils, and handles of weapons, set with jewels, the celebrated peacock-throne, and nine other thrones set with the most precious gems, valued at 11,000,000*l.* more; or jewellery amounting to 42,000,000*l.* sterling. Fraser's Nadir Shah. † Quint. Curt. iii. 3.

‡ Fabrics of linen in Egypt, and of cotton in India, were dyed in patterns in the most ancient times. Pliny describes the action of imbuing the stuff with colourless mordants, having the power of producing different tints from the same solution (Nat. Hist. xxxv. § 2). In India not only have mordants been used from immemorial periods, but resist-pastes also, which stop out or prevent the action of the dye-bath in the spots and figures to which they have been previously applied.

§ "In the Société Industrielle of Mühlhausen, a town of great celebrity

of India, however, were probably known in the Assyrian and Babylonian markets.

There can scarcely be a doubt that silk, the most beautiful of all the subjects of the loom, was known and employed by the early Assyrians. Not that it was produced in their country: it had not been introduced as a native production even into India, at the time of the Periplus of the Erythrean sea,* for the author of that voyage speaks of it as imported from countries farther east. But it was brought by the overland route from China into Western Asia. The Median robes, already alluded to as so celebrated by the Greek writers for their brilliancy and beauty were probably made of silk; for Procopius, writing long afterwards, when the silk-worm had become known in Europe says, "The robes which the Greeks used to call *Median*, we now call *silken*." Pliny expressly states that the silken garments which were brought into Greece, and which were unravelled by the women to be rewoven in

in calico-printing, may be seen specimens, not only of modern Indian calicoes in the preparation state, typically [or, in parts] covered with wax, to serve as a resist to the indigo dye, but of *ancient styles of pencilled cloths*, which had been the work of princesses, covered with figures of such complexity as could not be made without a very tedious and costly education, beyond the reach of ordinary artisans. Among other curiosities, the counterpane of a state-bed is shown, six yards long and three broad, which must have taken a life-time to execute, on their plan of applying the melted wax with a pencil."—Penn. Cycl. vi. 150.

* It was, however, well known in India at a period far more remote; for in the Statutes of Menu, (v. 120; xii. 64) we read of "silk and woollen stuffs," and of "silken clothes:"—and "woollen cloth, deer-akins, jewels, *soft silks*, variously coloured garments, and beautiful ornaments," are enumerated as presents in the Ramáyana i. § 61.

other forms,—were brought from Assyria.* And Ezekiel, who prophesied in captivity by the banks of an Assyrian river, makes mention of silk (*meshi* משי) in a passage (xvi. 10) the only one in which the word occurs in the Scriptures, in which he describes how Jehovah had lavished his richest gifts and blessings upon ungrateful Israel. The costliness, arising from the rarity, of what is now so common among us, might well cause it to be appropriated for royal adornment. Even in the later times of Roman luxury and prodigality, it is said to have sold for its own weight in gold, and the emperor Aurelian refused his wife a silken dress, on the ground that he could not afford to buy it.

The outer garments, at least the long-skirted mantle, and others that were trimmed with fur, we may suppose to have been of woollen cloth. Sheep were reared from the earliest times in the east, and their wool was, perhaps almost from the first, spun and woven into cloth. Woollen manufactures are recognised in the Sacred Scriptures as early as the Exodus (Lev. xiii. 47, *et seq.*; xix. 19); and the employment of goats' hair in textile fabrics is mentioned (Exod. xxxv. 26) about the same time. The particular breed of goats possessed by Israel in the desert we have no means of ascertaining; but we know that in the regions surrounding Assyria, such as Asia Minor (Angora), the vale of Cashmere, and the mountains of Bokhara and Tibet,

* We have already alluded to objects bearing a resemblance to hanks of silk, in the spoil of a city plundered by the Assyrians of the Upper Dynasty.

goats have been bred from remote antiquity, whose wool, of the most exquisite fineness, has been woven into fabrics of great beauty and of high price.* It is not improbable that the beautiful shawl-like mantles worn by Shalmaneser and Sennacherib were almost identically the same in texture as those fabrics which, under the name of Cashmere shawls, are among the most costly articles of modern costume.†

* The shawl-goat is spread over Tibet and the region to the east of the Caspian Sea. It is covered with silky hair, long, fine, flat and falling, with an under-coat in winter of delicate greyish wool, which latter constitutes the fabric of the shawls. The average weight of wool produced by a single goat is about three ounces, and it sells in Tibet for five shillings per pound; ten goats furnish only wool enough for a shawl a yard and a half square. The wool is sent from the mountains to Cashmere, where it pays duty. It is there bleached with rice-flour, spun into thread, and taken to the bazaar, where another tax is paid on it; the thread is then dyed, and the shawl is woven, after which the border is sewed on; the weaver then takes it to the custom-house, where a duty is charged on it at the caprice of the collector, whose avarice is limited only by the fear of ruining the weaver, and so destroying the trade, and his own future profit. All the shawls intended for Europe are packed up and sent to Peshawar across the Indus; this part of the journey is generally performed on men's backs, for the road is in many places impassable even for mules. lying across deep precipices, traversed by swinging bridges of ropes, and perpendicular rocks, which are climbed by wooden ladders. At each station of this toilsome journey, which lasts twenty days, a tax is paid, amounting to about 2*l.* sterling for the whole journey. From thence to the confines of Europe, not only must many more custom-house dues be paid, but the merchandise is exposed to the depredations of marauding tribes that infest the whole of these regions, and whose forbearance must be purchased at a heavy price.—Martin.

† This supposition is rendered almost certain by what Ctesias says of the beautiful robes imported from northern India into Persia, of such splendid colours and brilliancy, that they were worn by the great king (Ind. § xxi.). His description of the region renders it clear that Cashmere is meant.

The magnificent robe, in which the Nimroud monarch is represented as arrayed while receiving the sacred cup from the priests, was probably of the finest linen, for on no material less delicate could those elaborate symbolical figures and mythological scenes have been portrayed with such minute



CASHMERE GOAT.

correctness and beauty.* These were probably drawn with the pencil (see note on p. 478); but doubtless the chief part of the ornamentation of textile fabrics, when on the one hand extreme delicacy was not required in the delineations, and when on the other the pattern was not the repetition

* Sir Gardner Wilkinson mentions a specimen of ancient Egyptian linen, which displays the astonishing number of 540 threads (270 double threads) to the inch, in the warp, and 110 in the woof. The extreme

of a symmetrical form,—was performed with the needle.*

Numerous allusions occur in the early Scriptures to embroidery of needle-work. The curtains of the Tabernacle, the hanging that formed the door, and the veil that hid the Holy of Holies, were of fine linen, embroidered with cherubim and other figures in blue, and purple, and scarlet; (Exod. xxvi. 1, 31, 36; xxvii. 16; &c.) which, it appears, (xxxv. 25) was the work of the women. The ephod of the High Priest, the robe of the ephod, the girdle of needle-work, and the brodered coat (Ibid. xxxix) were all of the same character, fine linen, embroidered with the same brilliant colours.

The estimation in which embroidered garments were held appears too from the words of the mother of Sisera and her "wise ladies."

. The mother of Sisera looked out at a window, and cried through the lattice, Why is his chariot so long in coming? why tarry the wheels of his chariots? Her wise ladies answered her, yea, she returned answer to herself, Have they not sped? have they not divided the prey; to every

fineness of this fabric will be understood by comparing it with our cambric, which has about 160 threads to the inch in the warp, and 140 in the woof. This product of the Egyptian loom "is covered with small figures and hieroglyphics, so finely drawn that here and there the lines are with difficulty followed by the eye; and as there is no appearance of the ink having run in any part of the cloth, it is evident they had previously prepared it for this purpose." (Mann. of Anc. Egyptians, iii. 126.) Some of the muslins of India, especially those from the looms of Dacca, are also of surprising tenuity and lightness. These, we need hardly say, are cotton fabrics.

* Darius "wore a purple tunic, with the central part white [or set with white studs]. Over this was a mantle *embroidered with gold*, and adorned with golden hawks, fighting beak to beak." Q. Curt. iii. 3.

man a damsel or two? to Sisera a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of needle-work, of divers colours of needle-work on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil? Judg. v. 28—30.

And the sumptuousness of such apparel is shown by its association with wrought gold in the adornment of "the king's daughter," in the beautiful allegory of the Psalmist.

The king's daughter is all glorious within; her clothing is of wrought gold. She shall be brought unto the king in raiment of needle-work. Ps. xlv. 13, 14.

"Fine linen with brodered work from Egypt," is mentioned by the prophet (Ezek. xxvii. 7) as contributing to the princely sumptuousness of Tyre; and Herodotus (ii. 47) has celebrated the linen corslet presented by Amasis the Egyptian king to the Lacedæmonians, which was ornamented with *numerous figures of animals* richly embroidered with cotton (doubtless dyed) and *gold*.

We may add that throughout the East the leisure hours of ladies in the harem are almost wholly occupied in embroidery; handkerchiefs, veils, robes, are magnificently adorned by them with the needle in gold and silver thread, and coloured silks; woollen cloths and velvets also are richly embroidered.

To illustrate or at least to enliven this branch of our subject, we will subjoin some extracts from the numerous descriptions that have been given of probably the most gorgeous apparel ever worn on earth, that of the Shah of Persia. An inheritor of the glories of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, the monarchy of Iran has descended, with some vicissitudes certainly, to our own time; and perhaps it is

not too extravagant to suppose that some of the component jewels and ornaments of its regalia may have once been in the possession of those earlier courts. But the protracted existence of the Persian monarchy has enabled it to accumulate "the peculiar treasure of kings" from various sources, until the court with its paraphernalia literally blazes with jewels. Of these, some of the most splendid were added by Nadir Shah, when he spoiled the Mogul Empire of India.

Sir Robert Ker Porter thus describes the appearance of the Shah:—

"He was one blaze of jewels, which literally dazzled the sight on first looking at him; but the details of his dress were these:—A lofty tiara of three elevations was on his head, which shape appears to have been long peculiar to the crown of the great king. It was entirely composed of thickly set diamonds, pearls, rubies, and emeralds, so exquisitely disposed as to form a mixture of the most beautiful colours in the brilliant light reflected from its surface. Several black feathers, like the heron-plume, were intermixed with the resplendent aigrettes of this truly imperial diadem, whose bending points were finished with pear-formed pearls of an immense size. The vesture was of gold tissue, nearly covered with a similar disposition of jewellery; and crossing the shoulders were two strings of pearls, probably the largest in the world. I call his dress a vesture, because it sat close to his person, from the neck to the bottom of the waist, showing a shape as noble as his air. At that point, it devolved downwards in

loose drapery, like the usual Persian garment, and was of the same costly materials with the vest. But for splendour, nothing could exceed the broad bracelets round his arms, and the belt which encircled his waist; they actually blazed like fire, when the rays of the sun met them.

“The throne was of pure white marble, raised a few steps from the ground, and carpeted with shawls and cloth of gold, on which the king sat in the fashion of his country, his back supported by a large cushion, encased in a network of pearls.”*

Sir Harford Jones Brydges, after speaking with admiration of the crown and armlets, thus continues:—

“Among the others, I was particularly struck with what I know not how to give the reader an idea of but by calling it the king’s tippet, as it is a covering for part of his back, his shoulders, and his arms, which is only used on the very highest occasions. It is a piece of pearl-work, of the most beautiful pattern; the pearls are worked on velvet, but they stand so close together that little, if any, of the velvet is visible. It took me an hour to examine this single article, which I have no fear in saying cannot be matched in the world. The tassel, which, on such occasions, is appended to the state dagger, is formed of pearls of the most uncommon size and beauty; and the emerald, which forms the top of the tassel, is, perhaps, the largest perfect one in the world.”†

On Sir John Malcolm the effect was not less striking. On his presentation, he observes:—

* Travels, i. 325.

† Mission to Persia, 383.

"Many of the princes and nobles were magnificently dressed, but all was forgotten as soon as the eye rested on the king. He appeared to be above the middle size, his age little more than thirty, his complexion rather fair; his features were regular and fine, with an expression denoting quickness and



SHAH OF PERSIA.
(*In his state costume.*)

intelligence. His beard attracted much of our attention; it was full, black, and glossy, and flowed to his middle. His dress baffled all description. The

ground of his robes was white; but he was so covered with jewels of an extraordinary size, and their splendour, from his being seated where the rays of the sun played upon them, was so dazzling, that it was impossible to distinguish the minute parts which combined to give such amazing brilliancy to his whole figure."*

Finally, Sir William Ousely thus describes the "royal apparel" of Futteh Ali Shah.

"Of the king's dress, I could perceive that the colour was scarlet, but to ascertain exactly the materials would have been difficult, from the profusion of large pearls that covered it in various places, and the multiplicity of jewels that sparkled all around; for the golden throne seemed studded at the sides with precious stones of every possible tint, and the back resembled a sun of glory, of which the radiation was imitated by diamonds, garnets, emeralds, and rubies. Of such, also, was chiefly composed the monarch's ample and most splendid crown, and the two figures of birds that ornamented the throne, one perched on each of its beautifully enamelled shoulders."†

* Sketches of Persia, p. 210.

† Travels, iii. 131.

DOMESTIC AND PRIVATE LIFE.

Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle. *Jonah iv. 11.*

This is the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly; that said in her heart, I am, and there is none beside me. *Zeph. ii. 15.*

THE knowledge which we yet possess of the social life and private manners of the Assyrian citizens is extremely small, being almost confined to deductions indirectly inferred from the practice of the court, from the customs and appearance of the soldiery, and from the various productions of art or results of science which are incidentally portrayed. The buried cities of the Tigris have as yet revealed no sepulchres lined with vivid and graphic paintings of the processes of trade and manufacture, of indoor and outdoor homely life, like those exhaustless depositories at Beni Hassan and Thebes, from whence such a flood of light has been poured on the manners of the Ancient Egyptians. It is not impossible that similar memorials may be brought to light in the mounds of Assyria; yet hardly probable; for the results of the investigations already made seem to indicate that no portion of those ancient cities has survived their long entombment,

except the royal palaces, the embellishments of which would probably be restricted to scenes (like those already exhumed) in which the monarch bore a personal share. The burnt masses of Babylon may indeed conceal and preserve monuments, (destined to reward the pains of some future investigator), which illustrate the habits and manners of the common people; for that ancient city was, as we believe, for centuries a subject of the Assyrian king before it became itself a royal residence. Its glory was the commercial and manufacturing wealth of its busy population; and who can tell what records of its inhabitants may exist shut up in that vitrified mountain of brick?

The oldest notice of Nineveh extant, after the slight mention of its early origin, is in the Book of the Prophet Jonah. It is there described as "that great city," an emphatic appellation curiously agreeing with the *Νῖνος μεγάλη* of a poetic fragment preserved by Diodorus Siculus.* The latter authority gives 480 stadia as its circumference,† and Strabo intimates that it was considerably larger than Babylon.‡ Jonah's allusion to its dimensions agrees well with the statement of Diodorus. He calls it "an exceeding great city of three days' journey" (iii. 3). A day's journey in the East is understood to be twenty miles, and if the expression be meant to describe the periphery, it would give just 60 miles, or the 480 stadia of the Greek historian. We have already mentioned the interesting fact, that the great

* Diod. ii. 23.

† Ibid. ii. 3.

‡ Geogr. xvi.

palace-mounds which have been partially explored, inclose a rhomboidal area, the circumference of which is exactly 60 miles.

It is not to be supposed that this vast area was covered with buildings, like our modern European capitals. Like all great Asiatic cities, it was doubtless built in a loose and straggling manner, with many large fields for the production of corn and for the grazing of cattle, interspersed among the streets. We are told by Quintus Curtius that Babylon, even in the time of Alexander, was not continuously built over, but that within the precincts of the city there was a vast space which was cultivated and sown, in order to provide food for the inhabitants in case of a blockade. The open fields, in fact, covered nearly as large a space of ground as the buildings.*

* In the Ramáyana we have, in some detail, the poet's idea of a perfect city, formed doubtless on those with which he was familiar in Hindostan several centuries B.C. "The famous city Ujodhya was 12 yojanas (96 miles) in extent; the houses stood in triple long extended rows. It was rich, and perpetually adorned with new improvements; the streets and alleys were admirably disposed, and the principal streets were well-watered. It was filled with merchants of various descriptions, and adorned with abundance of jewels; difficult of access, filled with spacious houses, beautified with gardens and groves of mango-trees, surrounded by a deep and impassable moat, and completely furnished with arms; was ornamented with stately gates and porticoes, and constantly guarded by archers . . . fortified by gates firmly barred, adorned with areas disposed in regular order . . . Prosperous, of unequalled splendour, it was constantly crowded with charioteers and messengers, furnished with martial engines, adorned with banners, and high-arched porticoes, constantly filled with dancing girls, and dancing men, crowded with elephants, horses, and chariots, with merchants and ambassadors from various countries, frequented by the chariots of the gods, and adorned with the greatest magnificence. It was . . . beautified with temples, . . . adorned

Sir A. Burnes says of Balkh, one of the most ancient cities on the globe that "in its wide area it appears to have inclosed innumerable gardens, which increased its size without adding to its population."

In the inspired narrative of Hezekiah's reformation, the people "that dwelt in the *cities* of Judah" are described as bringing in the tithe of *cattle and sheep*, in contrast with their brethren who brought "all the increase of *the field*" (2 Chron. xxxi. 5, 6). This is a remarkable distinction, and appears to show that it was not unusual to keep cattle within walls.

The "much cattle," that were sufficiently important in the eyes of Jehovah to be mentioned by Him as a ground for showing mercy to Nineveh (Jon. iv. 11), intimate the same thing of the Assyrian capital; as does also the including of "herd and flock" in the proclamation of the penitent monarch (iii. 7).*

But when these allowances are made, it is indubitable that an immense area was occupied by the dwellings of the inhabitants. And surely it was a mighty and a populous city, as well as a great one. The declaration of Jehovah himself, who does not exaggerate, assigns to Nineveh "more than six score thousand persons that could not discern between their right hand and their left hand" (Jon. iv. 11). By this expression young children, too young to be with gardens, and baths, and spacious buildings, and full of inhabitants. . . The houses formed one continued row of equal height, resounding with the delightful music of the tabor, the flute, and the harp."—Ramayana, i. § 5.

* The driving away of the herds and flocks, after the capture of a fortified city, is constantly depicted in the sculptures, and proves that the custom was a general one of keeping cattle within the walls.

involved in the guilt of the city, were intended ; and if we reckon these at one eighth part of the whole, the result will give a total population of nearly one million, or about half that of London with its suburbs.

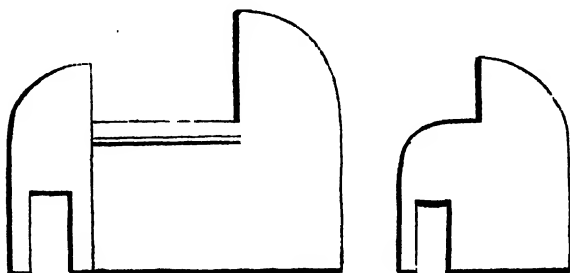
It has been observed* that the exactness of this enumeration, which was probably the statement of a well-known fact, argues that the people were in an advanced state of civilization, seeing that their social statistics were well attended to and carefully preserved. We may receive this conclusion with the more readiness, because it is abundantly confirmed by the direct evidence of the Assyrians themselves, as shown upon their sculptured monuments.

The only light we possess about the dwellings of the Assyrian people is derived from the representations already mentioned of their intrenched camps. As the camp was a sort of temporary city, we may presume that the form of its erections, their arrangement, and general economy, would bear considerable analogy (after making the allowances required by the differing circumstances) to those of towns. We see then in these *enceintes*, a large house of peculiar form, isolated in a particular quarter, and appropriated to the king ; other houses of similar shape but smaller in size, doubtless the residences of the chief captains ; and finally conical tents, or huts, the dwellings of the common soldiers and attendants.

The form of the houses, we have said, is peculiar, and will be better understood by the accompanying engraving than by any words of description. They ap-

* By Dr. Kitto in Cycl. Bibl. Lit. ii. 422.

pear to have been built, like the houses of the East at the present day, around a court, the apartments perhaps forming one side, or more, of the court, according to the rank of the owner. The sides not formed by



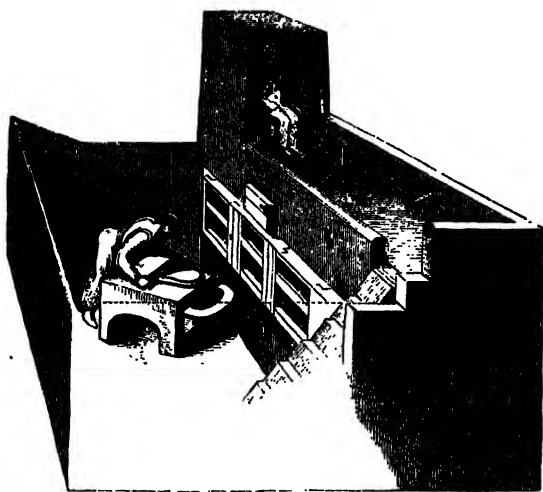
HOUSES.

rooms would consist, as they do now, of thick walls of brick, burnt or sun-dried, or else of mud, like the cob-walls of Devonshire and Dorset. A single door gave admission into the court, but no windows appear in the exterior of the edifice, they being all situated in the interior looking into the court. The apartments, at two opposite sides, generally rose to an elevation considerably greater than that of the wall; and those of one side were always much higher than those of the other. In some cases, the lower edifice of the two did not rise higher than the wall.

The corners of the edifice were rounded off on those sides that looked into the street, but square facing the court; a curious construction that seems to preclude the possibility of flat roofs. We cannot explain the rounded form, but this elevated portion appears to answer to the *tabsar*, or upper gallery,

described in a previous part of this work (See pp. 177, 185, *ante*). The front looking down upon the court was probably open, supported by pillars, and furnished with curtains.

There is, in the British Museum, a model of an ancient Egyptian house of rather humble pretensions, the outline of which would bear some resemblance to those of the Assyrian sculptures; but we do not think it throws much light on their structure.



MODEL OF AN EGYPTIAN HOUSE.

It has been supposed, on the hypothesis that alphabetic characters were all originally hieroglyphics, that the Hebrew letter Beth (ב) was intended to represent a house. The forms of some of these Assyrian dwellings bear a closer similarity to the

character, in its modern appearance, than any we have seen.

In general no appearance of decoration is seen on the outer side of these houses; a simple door with a square lintel above breaks the uniformity; but in one of the Kouyunjik era, a narrow ledge ran along the wall, near its top; and in another at Khorsabad, the whole surface, to the height of the wall, was adorned with a regular pattern of squares within squares. Both of these were royal dwellings. The latter appearance is sometimes given to the exterior of the military engines; perhaps it indicates painted wood. Mr. Layard thinks that the upper story was sometimes formed of a kind of canvas.*

Probably the houses in cities were built with a greater regard to the value of the ground on which they stood, than in a camp, and were carried up to a greater elevation: we have no direct evidence that such was the case; but Egyptian town-houses were narrow and lofty; and Herodotus informs us that Babylon was "full of houses three and four stories high."†

The dwellings of the lower orders were doubtless low and inconvenient huts, without any pretensions to beauty, and of little durability. Unburnt bricks, clay, or even wattled twigs forming a kind of hurdles, plastered with a mixture of mud and chopped straw, were in all probability the perishable materials of which they were generally composed.

In the great city Sardis, most of the houses were built of no more permanent materials than reeds,

* Nineveh and its Remains, ii. 271.

† Herod. i. 180.

even down to the time of its capture and conflagration by the Ionians (B.C. 500); and such as were built of bricks had roofs of reeds.*

It has been thought that many of the habitations of the towns were tents, properly so called; a supposition grounded on the representations of these structures in what were considered walled cities, but which we have elsewhere shown to be camps. We do not think that the inhabitants of the Assyrian cities were, at least to any considerable extent, of that nomadic character, which would make tents proper to them. The representations, however, are valuable, as revealing the form and structure of military tents, and perhaps also of such as were used by shepherds and other rustics. Jonah "made him a booth" on the east side of Nineveh, to watch under its shelter the result of his predictions (Jon. iy. 5). And when we remember how emphatically the Patriarchs were "dwellers in tents" (Heb. xi. 9), and how frequent are the notices of such transitory habitations in the Scriptures, we shall not think these illustrations uninteresting.

We have already described their common construction (see p. 337, *ante*) and shall merely add, that a specimen of an early era is of a form apparently larger and more commodious than those of later times.† It was supported



TENT OF TWO POLES.

by two upright poles, set at some distance apart,

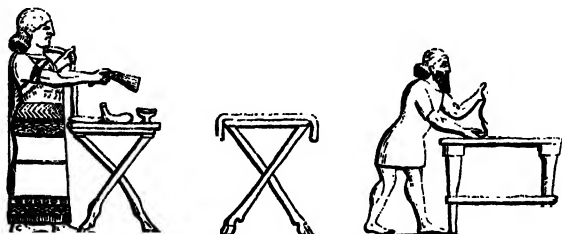
* Herod. v. 101.

† Layard, pl. 63.

over which the covering was stretched, and pinned to the earth by pegs. We infer from several passages in Holy Writ, as well as from Oriental usage at the present day, that the covering was of a coarse kind of cloth, woven of goats' hair. It may, however, have been of felt, a material largely used for the purpose from time immemorial by the nomads of Central Asia.

The chief interest of these representations of tents consists in the light which they shed upon the details of indoor life among the Assyrian people. Meagre, indeed, is the information we thus gain, but it is all we possess, of the kind.

The furniture depicted exhibits considerable variety of form, more than we might be prepared to expect in the "tented field." Some was massive, some light and elegant. Of the former was the dining-table,



TABLES.

the same in form as that already described in the muster of the royal furniture (see p. 164, *ante*), with or without the central pillar. Other specimens more nearly resembled our own four-legged tables. Of the more elegant forms, the favourite style was

similar to our camp-stools, the supports crossing upon a pivot, and intended to fold up. The feet of these tables were generally carved into the form of gazelles' hoofs.

Stools were constantly used for sitting, chairs being never represented in the bas-reliefs, except as the seats of kings or gods. The common soldiers, not on active duty, are seen within their tents, seated on low blocks of wood, or on footstools, or hassocks, knee to knee, chatting familiarly, or engaged in domestic occupations. But stools of higher pretension were numerous. Some were heavy, of the same shape as a four-legged table; others were of the crossed,

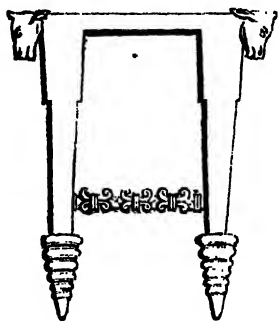


STOOLS.

or figure-X, form, either made to fold, or not; in the latter case a bar went across from foot to foot. A cushion was frequently laid upon these seats. Stools answering to the *diphros* of the Greeks were used at table, two persons sitting upon each, side by side. The style of this article seems to have been always the same, perhaps varying in the amount of its decoration. We have already described it among the

royal furniture at Khorsabad: the seat on which the king himself sat in the early ages, when receiving the sacred cup, seems not to have differed except in being hollowed in the seat, and more ornamented.

Among the Greeks the *diphros* was commonly appropriated to persons of the meanest rank.* With the Egyptians and Assyrians it was otherwise.. The former people generally reserved it for the conjoint occupation of the master and mistress of the house, when they received visitors; sometimes, however, it was offered to their guests, a gentleman and a lady, probably a married pair, sitting together.† The Assyrians certainly used it as a seat of state and of honour.



DIPHROS.

The Egyptian monuments afford many parallels to the forms of Assyrian furniture. The variety in the former is indeed far greater, as was to be expected, from the plenitude of materials for comparison; and many articles, of which representations, if not actual specimens, have come down to us, were common in Thebes and Memphis, of which Nineveh has as yet afforded us no memorial. The elegance of Egyptian

* Fosbroke's *Arts of the Greeks and Romans*, i. 171. This, however, was not always the rule, for Homer assigns such a double seat to Paris and Helen. II. iii. 424.

† Wilkinson, ii. 191.

workmanship, however, in cabinet furniture, which has been so deservedly admired, was in no respect superior to that which issued from the workshops of Assyria. Among the fashions which prevailed in both countries were, the carving of the feet of tables, chairs, and couches into imitations of the feet of lions and antelopes, the setting of these upon reversed cones, and the use of the camp-stool.

Couches of elegant form, closely resembling those used in our drawing-rooms, formed part of the furniture of tents, and therefore may be fairly supposed to have been common,—at least in the later age.



COUCHES.

They were probably used also by surrounding nations, for one of similar form is seen carried off among the spoil of a sacked city, in one of the Nimroud marbles.

We have no doubt that these couches were used as beds by night, as well as for the *siesta* at noon. Modern oriental usages, which have thrown so much light on the allusions of the early Scriptures, have rather deceived than assisted commentators in some particulars. We strongly suspect that the *ancient*

Orientals much more nearly agreed with the people of Western Europe, in the customs of sitting and reposing, than with their successors in the East. Chairs, stools, couches, and bedsteads, took the place of divans, carpets, and pillows; they sat as we do, with the legs perpendicular, not cross-legged, or squatted upon their heels. The interesting researches of Sir Gardner Wilkinson have abundantly shown that such was the custom among the Egyptians;* the alabasters of Nineveh and the cylinders of Babylon prove that the people of the Euphrates and Tigris knew no other; and many expressions in the sacred Scriptures indicate that the Canaanites and Hebrews used beds and bedsteads analogous to ours. Such are the following, among several others.

For only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of giants; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron. Dent. iii. 11.

Thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die. 2 Kings i. 4, 6, 16.

Surely I will not come into the tabernacle of my house, nor go up into my bed. Ps. cxxxii. 3.

In the houses of the great and luxurious, doubtless, the couches, whose elegant forms we see, were adorned with the beauties of carving in polished woods and ivory, with gold and silver, and even with precious stones. The prophet Amos, in a passage which we shall presently find illustrative in other particulars than this, describes in the following terms the luxury of Judah and Samaria in the days of their degeneracy.

* The lower orders, however, crouched on their heels in Ancient Egypt.

That lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall; that chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music, like David; that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments; but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph. *Amos vi. 4—6.*

The "beds of gold and silver" in the palace of Ahasuerus (*Esth. i. 6*) were doubtless couches, as they were used in the banquet. Croesus the Lydian had beds embossed with the same precious metals,* and according to Plutarch† the Greeks used similar decoration. Herodotus also casually shows that both high beds and chairs were common in Lydian bedrooms, when he represents‡ the wife of Candaules as undressing, laying her clothes on a chair near the door, and then stepping from the chair into bed; a description entirely foreign in this day to Eastern, while closely similar to Western manners.

That pillared and canopied beds were used by the Assyrians, we have already seen from the example of Holofernes,§ as also that the tapestry was magnificently adorned among the wealthy. Among the Hebrews they seem to have been not unknown, in the luxurious days of Solomon.

I have decked my bed with coverings of tapestry, with carved works, with fine linen of Egypt. I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon. *Prov. vii. 16, 17.*

It is not improbable that hangings of gauze were employed to keep off the venomous insects that are

* *Herod. i. 50.* † *De Superst.* ‡ *Herod. i. 9.*

§ *Judith x. 21 (see p. 388, ante).*

so common in warm countries, identical in structure and use with the musquito-curtains of India. According to Herodotus,* the Egyptians used musquito nets; but he appears to have mistakenly fancied that it was the kind of net employed in fishing. The Greek *κωνωπιῶν*, from which our word *canopy* is derived, was no doubt a tent-bed with gauze curtains, and probably had its origin from the East; the name is formed from *κῶνωψ*, a gnat or musquito.

No trace exists in the Assyrian monuments that the luxurious fashion of reclining at meals prevailed, or was even known. It was practised among the Jews at the time of our Lord (Luke vii. 38, John xiii. 23), and also among the Romans; but it is not likely that it originated with either. It was known to the Greeks about the middle of the sixth century B.C., for it is mentioned by Diodorus in his account of the feast of Clisthenes. Athenæus tells us on the authority of Hegesander, that among the Macedonians it was a privilege reserved for those who had killed a boar without nets.† On the sculptures of ancient Lycia, discovered by Sir C. Fellows, gods and heroes are represented as reclining; and to these monuments a much higher antiquity must be assigned than the sixth century.‡ The mention of the beds at Ahasuerus's feast (Esth. i. 6), as well as that on which queen Esther reclined at the banquet of wine, and on which Haman fell (vii. 8) proves that it existed among the Persians; which is confirmed also by Xenophon, who describes Cyrus as inviting

* Herod. ii. 95.

† Discov. in Lycia, 116, 118.

‡ Athen. lib. i. c. 14.

Gobryas to sup with him, and making him "lie down on a mattress."* The Romans are reported to have adopted the custom from their Carthaginian rivals,† who were probably indebted for it to their Asiatic parentage: yet this is strange, since they had everywhere around them, in the tombs of the Etruscans, paintings which abundantly show that the custom was common to that ancient and luxurious people, and had been adopted by them probably long before the foundation of Rome. It is curious, however, that the Etruscans, like the Carthaginians, to whom tradition ascribed the origin of the custom, were a Phœnician people. The ancient Egyptians sat at meals as we do; and so, as we have already observed, did the Assyrians.

The palace of king Shalmaneser had two halls adorned with the representations of banquets. The sculptured slabs were disposed in these saloons in two series, of which those which displayed the festive scenes formed the upper. In the small room these extended quite round the four walls, a square of 21 feet 6 inches; in the larger, one of the finest halls in the whole edifice, measuring 116 feet 6 inches, by 29 feet 8 inches, they extended over two sides, or half way round, as well as into some of the passages. The two scenes thus would have made a piece of sculpture, if united in one, of more than 230 feet in length, which might have afforded ample opportunity for revealing to us all the minutiae of an Assyrian feast. As it is, however, we acquire scarcely more than a few general ideas, for the

* Cyrop. ii. 20 (Ashley).

† Val. Max. xii. 1, 2.

numerous tables with guests and attendants, are almost exact counterparts of each other.

It is pretty certain that this was a royal banquet; that is, one given by the king to his captains and officers, and there is some reason to believe that, like Belshazzar,* he personally shared in their festivity; for one table is represented, at which, contrary to the rule of all the others, a single individual is seated, fanned by an eunuch in the usual manner of royal etiquette: he wears no mitre, however, but is bare-headed, like the guests.† Men and eunuchs were associated at the feast, just as they were at court and in battle. They sat on *diopoi*, the double chairs without backs already described, two guests on each, facing two others, with a table between the four. This was the arrangement through the whole banquet, a table to every two *diphroi* or four guests, so disposed that the attendants could pass to and fro in lanes between the tables.‡ No footstools were provided, but the feet hung down at some distance from the ground, the seats being high; which, with the absence of any rest for the back, would make the posture an uncomfortable one to our feelings.

The tables were covered with table-cloths, which hung down about two-thirds to the ground. These appendages were used also on the tables in the soldiers' tents, and in the sacrificial scenes; so that we may

* Dan. v. 1.

† See M. Botta's Letters to M. Mohl, pl. 42.

‡ Low oblong tables or trays, raised by feet a few inches from the ground, are set before guests in groups, in Koordistan; on these are placed the dishes with bowls of sherbet.

suppose their use to have been very general. Among the early Greeks, tables were not covered with cloths, but the bare board was cleansed after each meal with wet sponges.



GUESTS AT TABLE.

Both the stools and the tables were of the type of those already described (see p. 166 *ante*); the former with the extremities terminating in projecting rams' heads; the latter with a slab convex below, and supported by a central pillar,* as well as by the four massive legs.

It would be vain to attempt to identify the different articles of food that are seen on the tables. The most common object is about as large as one of

* "Concerning the tables [of the ancient Greeks]," says Mr. Fosbroke, "an important circumstance has not been heeded. There was mostly a prop, consisting of one or more feet, made of ivory or other materials, and carved into the form of a lion or other animal, or of a hero, and then called Atlas, Telamon, &c. In the houses of the poor, this prop was of stone, and called *καθισματικον*. The editors of the 'Pompeiana' call it *τραπεζιζωφρον*; and one which supported Arthur's Round Table is still to be seen at Winchester."—*Arts of the Greeks and Romans*, i. 171.

our loaves, and of a globular form, partially hollowed out. This may possibly be bread, for Mr. Robinson observes* that, among the Greeks, "the poor excavated their bread, and into the hollow put sauce, which they supped." It may however have been cheese, which we know was eaten by the Orientals, and was in such request among the Greeks as to be imported from Asia. Another object frequently repeated, is a bundle, tied round as asparagus is sold with us, with the heads diverging. If this was a part of the viands, it was perhaps a bundle of herbaceous stalks or roots, used as a salad.† Radishes, beets, and other crude vegetables were so used among the Greeks. Small bottles stand on the tables, which we may conjecture to have contained oil or vinegar.‡ Small trays and other objects are placed on the ground beside the tables.

Among all the guests represented, not one is either eating or touching food, while the great majority are drinking. From this circumstance, and from the apparent paucity and lightness of the solid viands, we incline to think that this was more properly a drinking party than a feast. The banquet to which queen Esther invited the king and his

* Antiq. of Greece, 495.

† We have before suggested a *fascis* of fragrant wood, as the original of this object; at least of one, which appears to be the same, on the table beside the fire-altars in the camp, before alluded to. See p. 118, *ante*.

‡ Perhaps these bottles contained fragrant oils. For Athenæus informs us that in Syria, at royal banquets, it was customary, after crowns had been distributed to the guests, for servants to enter, having *little bottles of Babylonian unguents*, who going round, sprinkled from these bottles the crowns of the guests as they sat at table.—Athen. xv.

haughty minister Haman, is repeatedly called "the banquet of wine" (Esth. v. 6; vii. 2, 7, 8); while in the descriptions of the feasts of Ahasuerus, and of Belshazzar, it is worthy of remark that the drinking of wine occupies by far the most prominent place.

And when these days were expired, the king made a feast unto all the people that were present in Shushan the palace, both unto great and small, seven days, in the court of the garden of the king's palace. . . . And they gave them drink in vessels of gold (the vessels being diverse one from another), and royal wine in abundance, according to the state of the king. And the drinking was according to the law; none did compel: for so the king had appointed to all the officers of his house, that they should do according to every man's pleasure. Esth. i. 5—8.

Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand. Belshazzar, while he tasted the wine, commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple which was in Jerusalem; that the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, might drink therein. Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God which was at Jerusalem; and the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, drank in them. They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone. Dan. v. 1—4.

That such like revellings were no less characteristic of Nineveh, we know from sacred and profane testimony. Diodorus relates (book ii. § 1) that its destruction, like that of Babylon, was during a debauch. The king, elated with his former victories, and ignorant of the revolt of the Bactrians, had abandoned himself to scandalous inaction; he had appointed a time of festivity, and *supplied his soldiers with abundance of wine*; but the general of the enemy, apprised by deserters of their negligence and *drunkenness*, attacked the Assyrian army while the

whole of them were fearlessly giving way to indulgence,—“the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly” (Zeph. ii. 15), destroyed great part of them, and drove the rest into the city.

Such a narrative we may well believe, for it was in strict accordance with the divine prediction :—

While they be folden together as thorns, and while they are drunken as drunkards, they shall be devoured as stubble fully dry. Nah. i. 10.

Many passages in the Scriptures intimate that frequent and long continued wine-bibbings were not uncommon among the ungodly of the Hebrews, of which the following may serve as examples.

Who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine. Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his colour in the cup, when it moveth itself aright. Prov. xxiii. 29—31.

Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that continue until night, till wine inflame them! And the harp, and the viol, the tabret, and pipe, and wine, are in their feasts: but they regard not the work of the LORD, neither consider the operation of his hands. Isa. v. 11, 12.

Come ye, say they, I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink; and to morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant. Isa. lvi. 12.

The mode of preparing the wine at Assyrian banquets, and of presenting it to the guests, affords a very interesting illustration of the numerous Scriptures that speak of *mixed-wine*, one of which is quoted above. Commentators tell us that the mingling was of two kinds, and for two purposes; the one consisted of the union of different ingredients of a stupefying or inflammatory character to heighten

the intoxicating power of the mixture.* Bishop Southgate says, "the Persians adulterate their wines, because in their natural state they are too weak to produce the desired effect. Hence it has been the custom in Persia to fortify the wines by an infusion of nux-vomica and lime, in order to increase that inebriating power which a hard-drinking Persian is apt to esteem."† Kæmpfer ‡ has a curious chapter showing how the Orientals deal in artificially mingled liquors of prodigious strength.§

Another sort of mingled wine used by the ancients, was a kind of syrup made of the juices of fruits thickened and preserved by boiling. In order to render this fit for drinking it was diluted with a considerable quantity of water; so that this was mixed for a purpose the very opposite to that which has been just described.

The "mixed wine" of the jovial Assyrian captains was without doubt of the former kind. The process of preparation is represented with curious precision. An eunuch, "a man of strength to mingle strong drinks" (Isa. v. 22) is standing at a figure-X table

* Homer introduces Helen (Odys. iv. 220) as mingling potent drugs with the wine which she gave her guests, in order to cheer their drooping spirits. The knowledge of these drugs, and many more, some salubrious, others poisonous, she had received from Egypt.

† Narrative of a Tour, &c. ii. 325, 326.

‡ Amœn. Exot.

§ The practice of distilling and of drinking ardent spirits existed in India in very ancient times. In the old Sanscrit law-books we read of mead, a spirit distilled from honey; arrack from palm-juice; rum from molasses; a spirit distilled from rice, a spirit from flowers, and many other sorts.—Instit. of Menu, ix. 235; xi. 91, 95, 96; &c. See also Ramâyana, i. § 41, &c.; and the Sâma Veda, Sanhitâ, *passim*.

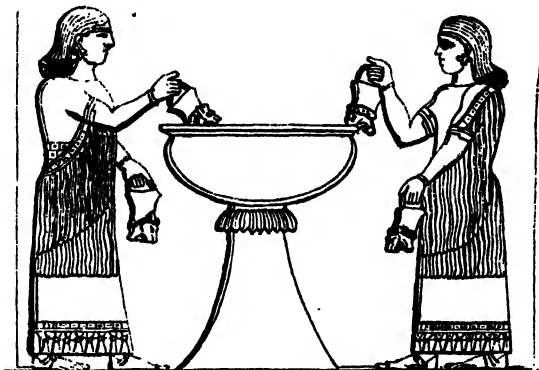
aside, on which he is grinding some substance with a stone muller; while on the table before him stands one of those bottle-necked gourds, in which drugs, such as aloes, &c. are generally sent at this day from Arabia. Doubtless he is grinding down the potent medication. In another place not far off, a large vase or bath of elegant form stands, capable of holding many gallons, which has received the intoxicating mixture. To this the attendant eunuchs resort, with those elegant cups in each hand, which we have before described, fashioned like a lion's head, with handles of twisted wire,—and dipping them in over the brim which rises breast high, hurry away with full vessels to the guests, whose cups they replenish, and return for more. The hurrying to and fro with the wine-cups is clearly expressed.

The fashion of mingling the wine in a large bowl or *crater*, and of bearing it round in cups to the guests, was common in Homer's time.* The *crater* was set in the most honourable part of the room. It was generally of silver, sometimes gilt, at others having an ornamental rim of gold, or was even wholly of this metal. It commonly stood on a tripod, sometimes formed of three human figures. Herodotus speaks of one (i. 70) capable of holding 300 amphoræ. In later times it was the custom to fill the *crater* thrice with wine, after the tables were removed.

It has been disputed whether the cyathus (κύαθος) of the Greeks was a cup out of which the wine was drunk, or the small ladle, by means of which it was

* See *Iliad* and *Odys.* *passim*. See also *Athen.* ii. 2.

transferred from the *crater* to the drinking-cups.* Perhaps the Assyrian form of the utensils may reconcile the difference.



MIXED WINE.

The cups used by the guests were beakers of exactly the same form, but rather smaller, and without handles; they were therefore grasped in the hand. It appears to have been customary to hold up all together the right hand with the full cup, before drinking, as if they were honouring a toast.† It is probable that something of the sort was practised, for the Greeks learned their health-drinkings from Asia.

Behind each pair of guests for the most part stood an eunuch with the indispensable fly-whisk, which is

* See Smith's Dict. of Antiquities, *art.* CYATHUS.

†———Ulysses mark'd,

And charging high his cup, thus hail'd his host:—
Health to Achilles.—Il. *ix.* 272.

not however represented as in actual use. Officers are seen standing, armed with the mace, probably the guards: but these are also furnished with beakers of wine, and drink to each other. Xenophon represents Cyrus as sending of the good things from his table to those that were employed upon guard, as well as to his guests.*



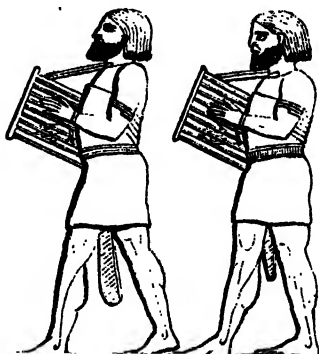
GUARDS DRINKING.

The charms of music and of song were not wanting to an Assyrian banquet. The prophet Isaiah in a passage above quoted, speaks of "the harp and the viol, the tabret and pipe," as accompaniments of the wine-feasts which he denounces. And so here we see musicians standing behind the revellers, playing upon lyres, and apparently (from the expression and position of their faces) singing to their instruments.†

* *Cyrop.* viii.

† Probably the songs were of a lascivious character; for Athenæus

The lyre here represented is essentially the same as the Greek and Egyptian instrument. In form it still more closely resembles that early one seen in the hands of an Asiatic stranger in Egypt, in the famous group at Beni Hassan, which has been supposed by some to refer to the migration of Jacob and his family, and by others to represent a party of Jebusites. We may at all events fairly presume the Hebrew lyre (כִּנּוֹר, *kinnor*) to have been of this form, which may be traced up to an antiquity even more remote than the flood, and which we find in use on festive occasions in Mesopotamia in the time of Laban and Jacob (Gen. iv. 21; xxxi. 27). The Assyrian lyre of Shalmaneser's time had the base



or sounding board rather small, the sides straight and not diverging, and, as far as may be inferred from

refers to these under the name of *καλάραι*, as favourite accompaniments of feasts; and observes that Phœnicia was "full of such songs."—Athen. xv.

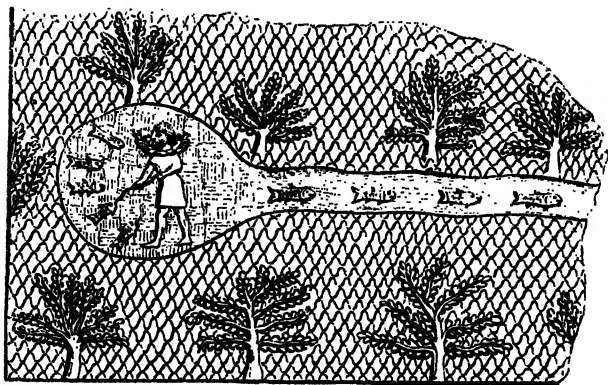
the sculpture, (which is not, however, in a perfect condition) ten strings. It was suspended from the neck of the performer, just as with the Greeks, only in a more diagonal position, by a ribbon attached to one side, and was played by the fingers of both hands, without a plectrum.

What kinds of animal food were chiefly eaten among the Assyrians, the monuments do not afford us much information. In some Kouyunjik scenes soldiers after battle are represented cutting up with their swords, two sheep, which are part of the plunder, and also what seems a gazelle; and the example before referred to (see p. 334 *ante*), in which two persons stand over the carcase of a sheep on a table, may be one of the preparation of food. The wild bulls and stags killed in hunting, were doubtless eaten; as were also, surely, the hares and birds shot by the royal party in the paradise. There would thus be a propriety in decorating the walls of the banquet-hall with the chase of game intended for eating. Gazelles, fallow-deer, and ibexes are depicted in the hands of priests, as if intended for sacrifice; which is tantamount to their being used as human food. No swine are seen in the bas-reliefs, though these were kept and eaten by the early Greeks, and by the Egyptians.

The numerous rivers and streams of Assyria, all well stocked with fish of various kinds, could not fail to afford a copious and wholesome supply of animal food; yet there is very little evidence of its having been much used. In one sculpture of the Nimroud era, a man is seen at the base of a castle-

wall, fishing in the river. He crouches down upon his heels at the brink, and uses a line without any rod, having merely taken a double turn of the cord round his hand; he has just taken a large fish. It is probable that this does not represent an Assyrian.

At Kouyunjik, however, a fishing scene is found, in which the practitioner appears to be a native Assyrian, and a professional fisherman. The locality is a little circular lake with a river issuing from it, embosomed in the forest-covered mountains. The fisher stands in the shallows, with a short line held in both hands, to which a large fish has just attached itself. A rush basket full of fishes is strapped across his shoulders.



FISHERMAN.

In the Egyptian monuments the capture, preparation and eating of fish are copiously represented.

and prove the estimation in which this food was held in the most ancient times. Some fishers used a simple line, exactly in the same manner and attitude as the former of those we have just described; but others employed a rod, various sorts of nets, and spears. Fish was salted and dried in that country; as it was also in Greece. At first indeed, as in the Homeric age, a prejudice seems to have existed against this kind of food, and it was little eaten; but, afterwards, it came into very general esteem.*

Herodotus speaks of tribes in Babylonia who ate nothing but fish. Having been dried in the sun, the fishes were pounded in a mortar, until the fibres would pass through a fine cloth; the mass was then kneaded into a sort of bread and baked.†

The various sorts of grain‡ and pulse,§ as well as the numerous and excellent fruits that own Assyria and the neighbouring countries as their native region, and from whence we have derived the most valuable kinds that we possess,—of course entered largely into the food of the people. None of these, however, are represented on the bas-reliefs, with the exception of a few of the fruits. Pomegranates seem to have been borne in the hand as an act of religious homage. Districts are seen in some of

* Plutarch, *passim*.

† Herod. i. 200.

‡ From the Institutes of Menu and other Sanscrit writings we gather that the ancient Hindoos largely ate puddings and frumenties of boiled corn; many preparations of milk and butter, sweetened with honey, sugar, and molasses; bread, herbs, roots, fruits, and the flesh of certain animals.

§ See Dan. i. 12, 16.

the martial expeditions, in which the hills are covered with vines, not trained on trellises or arbours as in ancient Egypt, and modern France, but either made to grow as low standard-bushes, as on the banks of the Rhine, or else trailing over the earth, as they grow at the present day on Mount Lebanon. The paradise, in which king Shalmaneser took his pleasure, contained a garden planted around the pavilion with pomiferous trees, which from the size and form of the fruit may have been the beautiful and fragrant citron, the "*malus Medica vel Assyrica*" of the ancients, and probably the "apple" (תפוח, *tappuach*) of the Scriptures.



A few instances of culinary operations occur in the sculptures, but their nature is not very clearly revealed. A high fire-place was built up, almost

like a cask or a box, (whether cylindrical or square we cannot determine), probably of well-burnt bricks, the summit of which was hollow, and formed the *focus* or hearth. On the top of this, which was about two feet above the ground, a large caldron was set, of the kind already described (see p. 365 *ante*). The cook in the sculpture is represented in the act of stirring the fire with a poker, beneath the bottom of the caldron.* It seems evident that the use of this utensil was for the boiling of meat, as we know from several passages it was so employed among the Hebrews.

And the priest's custom with the people was, that, when any man offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came, while the flesh was in seething, with a fleshhook of three teeth in his hand; and he struck it into the pan, or kettle, or caldron, or pot; all that the fleshhook brought up the priest took for himself. 1 Sam. ii. 13, 14.

This city is the caldron, and we be the flesh. Ezek. xi. 3.

Who also eat the flesh of my people, and flay the skin from off them; and they break their bones, and chop them in pieces, as for the pot, and as flesh within the caldron. Mic. iii. 3.

The antiquity and the use of this utensil are also shown by the reference to "a seething pot or caldron" in the book of Job (xli. 20).

It is a matter of controversy whether meat was boiled among the early Greeks; roasting certainly was the common mode of preparation in Homer's time,† or broiling; slices being cut off the divided joints, and transfixed with wooden spits.‡ Yet the

* The scene is represented in the lower right-hand compartment of the camp in page 333, *ante*.

† Odys. ii. 388.

‡ Il. i. 560; ii. 480; &c.

frequent mention of bronze caldrons and their value indicates that sometimes joints were boiled in them; as we know, from the monuments, was the case in ancient Egypt.* In one instance in the Assyrian sculptures a man is seen cutting off a slice from a joint of meat with a knife or dagger.

For more delicate operations a small fire of coals was made in a portable brazier, an example of which is seen in a tent. An eunuch is seated on a low stool before it, waving a fan over it with one hand, while with the other he grinds down a small round object like a nut, upon the top of a vessel of singular shape.

Such a portable fire-place, probably, was that into which Jehoiakim profanely cast the message that was sent him from Jehovah.

Now the king sat in the winter-house in the ninth month: and there was a fire on the hearth burning before him. And it came to pass, that when Jehudi had read three or four leaves, he cut it with the penknife, and cast it into the fire that was on the hearth, until all the roll was consumed in the fire that was on the hearth. Jer. xxxvi. 22, 23.

On this passage Dr. Kitto has some interesting observations illustrative of the use of fire-places in the East. "The word **מִנְיָה** (*ach*) rendered 'hearth,' may mean anything on which a fire was placed, without determining that it was the hearth of a chimney; and that it was not such, but a moveable brazier or fire-pan, will appear from the turn of the original, lost in the common translation, which says, not that the king *was sitting* before the fire on the 'hearth,' but that the 'hearth' containing the fire

* Wilkinson, ii. 380, 384.

was brought or set before the king. This is corroborated by existing usages, as well as by those which anciently prevailed. Chimneys are indeed found in some parts, as in the north of Persia; but in Asia generally, apartments are warmed in cold weather by means of pans or braziers of various kinds, and either of metal or earthenware, which are set in the middle of the room, after the fire of wood which it contains has been allowed to burn for some time in the open air, till the flame and smoke have passed away."*

Fans for increasing the vehemence of the glowing coals were in frequent use;† they differed somewhat in shape, but were most commonly nearly square, with a short handle projecting from one corner. Several of these implements, answering to our bellows, were usually hung up on pegs driven into the central post of the tent, or probably into the walls of the houses. The fly-whisk was also occasionally used for the same purpose; but this instrument was more in request for its legitimate object, that of being waved to keep off flies. In one bas-relief we see‡ in a tent a small figure-X table, covered with a cloth, and set out with food and a goblet as if for a single person, with an eunuch attendant standing by the as yet unoccupied chair, with the towel hanging over his left shoulder, and the

* Pict. Bible, *in loco*.

† The Greeks and Romans revived the fire both at the fire-place or brazier (*foculus*) and on the altar, in the same manner.—Smith's Antiq. 539.

‡ Layard, pl. 30.

fly-whisk in his hand waved to and fro above the viands.*



SPREAD TABLE.

Skins of wine, or water, or both, were commonly suspended from pegs in the posts, just as they are at this day in the East, that the evaporation produced from their surface by the constant draught through the apartment, might keep the contents cool, in hot weather. Large and small pitchers, apparently of pottery, vases of various forms, and small bottles, were likewise suspended from the pegs, together with other objects of curious structure, of which we cannot conjecture the use.

In one instance a piece of furniture is represented, bearing some resemblance to the chiffoniers of our parlours. It bears four large globular bottles, in two rows, one series on a sort of shelf over the

* The Greeks and Romans used the fan (*μικρόβη*) "to drive away flies from living persons, and from articles of food, which were either placed upon the table or offered in sacrifice."—Smith's Antiquities, 539.

others. A slender stand of some elegance stands beside it.

What we suppose to be the oven was a barrel-shaped, or somewhat cylindrical vessel, much deeper than wide, and probably made of fire-burnt bricks or indurated clay. It was placed outside of the tent in camp. In the only example we have met with of it, a man is represented dipping his arm into it, probably laying the dough on the heated sides, in the rapid and skilful manner in which it is now done in Persia; a bowl or vase at the foot of the oven we may suppose to contain the dough or batter which has been prepared for baking.

We form this conclusion from the close resemblance which the form of the object itself, as well as the action of the man, bears to the representations of Egyptian ovens.* If not an oven, it is probably a locker or "harness-cask," such as is used on ship-board, from which the man is taking out meal, or some other substance, to put into the bowl at its foot.



OVEN.

Xenophon, in a passage already cited,† informs us that carpets were in use among the Medes, "that the floors might not by resistance make a noise, but that the carpets might break the sound;" and that the Persians of his day had adopted these luxuries. There is also some reason to think from

* See Wilkinson, ii. 384 (*engraving*).

† Cyrop. viii.

the monuments, as well as from an expression in Diodorus,* that they were used in Egypt. We are not sure whether they were adopted in Assyria. In a bas-relief from Nimroud,† the king, seated on his throne, and his parasol-bearer, are placed on an oval area which appears raised above the level on which his vizier and other officers stand; but whether it represents a carpet, or a kind of *dais*, we cannot determine. In the principal hall of the north-west Palace, Mr. Layard discovered a broad slab of alabaster, two feet high, laid on the floor at one extremity of the room, which appears to have been the pedestal either of a throne or an altar. It was surrounded by a conduit for carrying off some fluid. Outside one of the tents in a camp is seen a thick and wide roll of a material, which, from the crossed lines with which it is covered, is probably woven; it may be a carpet or a mat, or perhaps a sleeping rug for domestics, the couch being appropriated to the master.

“Carpets, one of the principal objects of luxury in the East, the floors of the rich being generally covered with them, were nowhere so finely woven, and in such splendid colours as at Babylon. Particular representations were seen on them of those wonderful Indian animals, the griffin and others, with which we have become acquainted by the ruins of Persepolis, whence the knowledge of them was brought to the West.‡ Foreign nations made use of these carpets in the decoration of their harems and royal saloons; indeed this species of luxury appears

* Diod. Sic. i. 34.

† See p. 73, *ante*.

‡ Athen. v. 197.

nowhere to have been carried farther than among the Persians. With them not only the floors, but even beds and sofas in the houses of the nobles were covered with two or three of these carpets; nay, the oldest of their sacred edifices, the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ, was ornamented with a purple one of Babylonian workmanship."*

Koordistan is still celebrated for the beautiful carpets which are manufactured there, known in European commerce by the name of Turkey carpets.

A system of posts for the conveyance of intelligence with great rapidity was established by the Asiatic monarchs. Herodotus describes it as it was in Xerxes' time, not however as a new invention, "Nothing human can equal the velocity of the Persian posts, which are thus arranged. As many days as are occupied in the whole journey, so many horses and men are stationed at regular intervals, a horse and man for each day's journey. Neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor night, prevents them from performing their appointed stages as swiftly as possible. The first courier delivers the message to the second, the second instantly conveys it to the third, and so it passes throughout."†

The Sacred Narrative of Esther repeatedly notices the same system in the time of Ahasuerus.

And he wrote in the king Ahasuerus' name, and sealed it with the king's ring; and sent letters by posts on horseback, and riders on mules, camels, and young dromedaries. . . . So the posts that rode

upon mules and camels went out, being hastened and pressed on by the king's commandment. *Esth.* viii. 10, 14. (See also iii. 13, 15).

This mode of conveyance was not confined to Persia: it was used by the Hebrew kings, as we find from *2 Chron.* xxx. 6, 10; and by those of Babylon (*Jer.* li. 31). And at a period much more remote it was well known to the patriarch Job, who alludes to the extraordinary velocity of the practised courier. "My days are swifter than a post" (*Job* ix. 25).

We have no certain information on the mode in which the Assyrians disposed of their dead. Tombs, indeed, have been found in considerable number in some of the palatial mounds, consisting of sarcophagi, either of brick or earth, and frequently covered with an Assyrian slab for a lid. Most of these when opened were found to contain human bones, together with vases and bottles of pottery, alabaster and glass, necklaces of gems, plates, mirrors, spoons, and other trinkets. But there is no reason to believe that these were properly Assyrian; the contents of the coffins, as well as their character, are perfectly Egyptian in form and materials; and in each case, whether in the south-east corner of the Nimroud mound, in the centre, or at Kalah Sherghat, they lie immediately over an Assyrian edifice, the ruin of which must have occurred so long before their construction, that its existence was probably unknown. Mr. Layard is inclined to attribute these sepulchres to a foreign race who held possession of Assyria between the eras of the Higher and Lower Dynasty.

The Assyrians, probably, like the Jews, did not bury their dead within the walls of their cities, at least while the latter were densely inhabited by the living. Among the Jewish people none were buried within walls, except at Jerusalem, and there only the royal family, and persons of eminent virtue to whom extraordinary honour was to be shown, as in the case of Jehoiada (2 Chron. xxiv. 16). Hence, in all probability, should an Assyrian necropolis be discovered, it will not be in any of the palatial mounds, but in some smaller heap expressly devoted to the dead.



FUNERAL URNS.

At the north-east extremity of the Khorsabad mound, M. Botta found a number of jars or urns of terra cotta, placed upright in niches on each side of a deep trench, and resting on a bed of lime. The urns, which are of an elegant shape, were destitute of a lid; they contained fragments of bones partially calcined, embedded in the earth which filled the urns. The remains were too much decomposed for the discoverer to determine whether they were human, though of course it is most probable.

At the rock-tablets of Bavian, about seventeen

miles north of Mosul, Mr. Ross found some sepulchres of considerable interest. "Immediately opposite the village . . . rise the cliffs, on which are the bas-reliefs. There are eight small tablets, each containing the portrait of a king, about four feet high; and one very large tablet, with two kings, apparently worshipping two priest-like figures standing, the one on a lion, the other on a griffin. . . . Some of the small tablets are on the perpendicular face of the rock, others are reached by a narrow ledge. . . . The large tablet, and one containing the figure of a bull, have chambers cut behind them. I am inclined to think that these chambers were excavated at the same time as the portraits were sculptured. Their use is obvious. They were tombs, and my idea is, that the bas-reliefs outside are the portraits of the monarchs who were buried within. Picture to yourself a small room, square in shape, and with a flat vault. On either side, recesses or niches (resembling a small oven) are cut into the wall, evidently to hold a body. These niches, being only about four feet long, may be thought too small to receive a man; but I imagine that the corpse was crammed into a sarcophagus, similar to those discovered at Nimroud, which the recesses are well calculated to contain. These tombs must once have been closed; now they have small doors and even windows. . . . It would seem that these bas-reliefs covered royal tombs, with concealed entrances, which were at a later period broken open and pillaged, and afterwards converted into dwellings, and the windows opened. It is possible that chambers still unrifled

might be found behind the smaller tablets. . . . There are various signs and religious emblems scattered about, chiefly representations of the sun and moon."*

There are several allusions in Scripture to a mode of burial allied to this ; and the sepulchre in which the body of our Blessed Lord was deposited was not very dissimilar, being "hewn out in the rock" (Matt. xxvii. 60). But there are two passages of more than usual interest because they expressly designate Assyrian customs. The first is that magnificent dirge (Isa. xiv.) which the prophet takes up against the King of Babylon, that is, we are inclined to think, Sennacherib, who probably made Babylon one of his royal residences. In this poem the kings of the nations are represented as "lying in" solitary "glory, every one in his own house" or sepulchre. Hell, or the invisible world, is, by a bold *prosopopeia*, pictured as moved from beneath, and as rousing up the mighty dead, to meet the new tenant ; the kings of the nations start from their royal cells to greet with astonishment the conqueror of the earth, now become weak as themselves, and brought down to the grave, "*to the sides of the pit.*"

The other (Ezek. xxxii. 18—32) is somewhat similar in character : various nations are poetically personified, and represented as inhabiting Hades, or the invisible world. Though spoken of generally in similar terms, there are some peculiarities of description appropriated to particular nations,—such as the weapons buried with the Scythians, and the heavy mounds of

* Nineveh and its Remains, ii. 142, (*note.*)

earth that covered their bones,—which doubtless had an exact reference to special customs. “It is more than possible,” says Taylor, “that if we could discriminate accurately the meaning of words employed by the Sacred Writers, we should find them adapted with a surprising precision to the subjects on which they treat. . . The numerous references in Scripture to sepulchres supposed to be well-peopled, would be misapplied to nations which burned their dead, as the Greeks and Romans did; or to those who committed them to rivers, as the Hindoos; or to those who exposed them to birds of prey, as the Parsees: nor would the phrase ‘to go down to the sides of the pit’ be strictly applicable to, or be properly descriptive of, that mode of burial which prevails among ourselves.”*

Among the nations in the passage we refer to, Assyria is thus distinguished:—

Asshur is there, and all her company: his graves are about him: all of them slain, fallen by the sword: whose graves are set in the sides of the pit, and her company is round about her grave: all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which caused terror in the land of the living. Ezek. xxxii. 22, 23.

The description of the prophet is strictly applicable to such chambers as Mr. Ross discovered in the rock at Bavian; a *pit*, or cavern, in whose *sides* the individual tombs are set, where the *company* of the illustrious dead, that spread terror during their lives, met round about in grim and silent assembly.

Similar rock-hewn chambers have been found in

* Taylor's Calmet, art. SEPULCHRE.

various localities in the East;* of which it may be sufficient to allude to those that are cut upon the face of the mountain contiguous to Persepolis. Their outside is much adorned with sculpture, representing some of the Achæmenian kings, and the interior is hollowed at the remote extremity into three cells.

Dr. Kitto has examined many sepulchres on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, and has found them to consist generally of "urns of various forms, lined with bitumen, and sometimes glazed, containing bones and dust. They are found in almost every situation, in mounds of ruin, in the cliffs of the rivers, and even within the thick walls of ancient towns and fortresses. . . Few of the urns are large enough to contain an adult human body, which therefore could not have been deposited entire." From a passage which the learned Doctor quotes from a Persian work, the "*Desatir*,"—it appears that among other modes of disposing of the dead, it was common to immerse the body in a trough of *aqua-fortis*, until the flesh and ligaments were consumed, after which the bones were deposited in an urn. This passage refers specially to ancient Persia, but it is not improbable that the same custom prevailed in Assyria and Babylonia.†

We have no evidence whether the division of

* Sir C. Fellowes found the cliffs in Lycia speckled all over with ancient tombs. An isolated round rock on the site of the ancient Pinara, for example, contains some thousands, most of which are merely oblong holes cut in the perpendicular and inaccessible face of the rock.—*Discoveries in Lycia*, 139.

† *Pict. Bible*, iii. 177.

society into classes or castes existed in ancient Assyria, as it did among the Indians, Egyptians, and Etruscans. It is probable that if it did, it was in a less rigid form, or it would have been noticed by the Greek writers, as prevailing at Babylon if not at Nineveh.* There is no doubt, however, that the state of society was highly complex, elaborately organized, and full of artificial wants. A happy climate and a fertile soil, combined with a fine commercial position, in the high road by which the products and manufactures of the rich East travelled westward, early produced their invariable results, an advanced state of civilization, opulence, and luxury. The Sacred Scriptures, the classic writers, and the testimony of the monuments themselves, agree perfectly in this. Luxury brought corruption of morals in its train: a ferocious blood-thirstiness was cherished as the national characteristic, ever seeking its gratification in the murder, rapine, and ruin, that are inseparable from wars of conquest. Sensuality, unchecked by the presence of true religion, and unawed by any godly example, pervaded all ranks from the king to the peasant; and violence was in all hands.† The cry of the wickedness of great Nineveh went up before God;‡ and though she was a “rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly; that

* We learn incidentally from 1 Chron. iv. 14, 21, 23, that in very early times, in Israel, certain trades were followed by certain families, apparently in hereditary succession; craftsmen, manufacturers of fine linen, and potters, are particularly specified. This custom was compulsory in Egypt, but in Israel, as in many parts of Asia to this day, it was probably optional, though prevalent.‡

† Jonah iii. 8.

‡ Ibid. i. 2.

said in her heart, I am, and there is none beside me ;"—He that is higher than the highest regarded it, and marked her for ruin. As He did afterwards to her sister-city, He weighed her in his righteous balances, and found her wanting ; He numbered her kingdom and finished it. Timely repentance and humiliation for a while averted the stroke ; but iniquity, like the overflowing flood of a returning tide, swept back again, and all the refinement, the splendour, the beauty, the art, wherewith the wickedness of the " bloody city " was gilded, availed not to save her from utter and hopeless, but deserved ruin.

* Zeph. ii. 15.

ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.

Gold, and silver, and brass, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen, and goats' hair, and rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins, and shittim wood, oil for the light, spices for anointing oil, and for sweet incense, onyx stones, and stones to be set. Exod. xxv. 3—7.

Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is none end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture. Nah. ii. 9.

THE wonderful discoveries recently made in archæology have uniformly tended to establish the fact that an acquaintance with the arts of social life, and the refinements that they produce, were not the slow results of experience, and of intellect triumphing, after repeated failures, over native ignorance and barbarism, but were the original possession of primeval man. Poets and philosophers have delighted to trace up the progress of human science and art from their supposed infancy, in an imaginary time,

“When wild in woods the noble savage ran,”

to their vigorous youth in the elaborate creations of Grecian intellect, or their maturity in the marvels of modern skill. To a certain extent, indeed, there has been such a progress, (not uniform, however, nor even constant, but irregular and often inter-

mitted); but the point of commencement was not *zero*, as has been assumed, but some one high up the scale.

The testimony of Holy Writ, that skill in art and science is a direct gift from God to man (Exod. xxxi. 1—11; xxxv. 30—35; xxxvi. 1—4; Isa. xxviii. 24—29), as well as the evidence that it affords us of the very early periods in which they were common (Gen. iv. 2, 17, 20—22; vi. 14—16) is clear and full; and is confirmed by what we now know of the state of the arts in the remote periods of Egypt's history, and by what has been still more recently revealed of the condition of Nineveh, at an era which may possibly have been contemporaneous with, if not even prior to hers.

The details of the preceding pages will have supplied abundant proofs of Assyrian proficiency in the arts, since the dresses and ornaments of the person, the weapons and accoutrements of war, the carriages and military engines, the dwellings, and the furniture they contained, bespeak not only skill in the artisans of that day, but, in most instances, the combination of many skilled processes for the perfection of one article. We shall not therefore think it needful here to do more than attempt a slight recapitulation of the mechanical and liberal arts known to the ancient Assyrians.

A minute division of labour, the result of an exuberance of population, was in all probability as prevalent in that age and country, as in the thickly peopled capitals of modern Europe; and the effects

were doubtless the same, the perfection of the mechanical art, with the mental deterioration of the artisan. Constant attention to one operation produces indeed wondrous facility, delicacy and precision of touch, but by confining the mind to one object, excludes thought and invention, until the power of exercising them is almost lost; and the man becomes little better than a manufacturing machine.

Among the Persians (or rather in the era at which Xenophon wrote, for it does not seem to have been mentioned as peculiar to any people), this division of skilled labour was carried to an extreme beyond what prevails among us. For not only did one person confine himself to the making of shoes for women, another of shoes for men, but one got a maintenance by cutting out shoes, another by sewing them together; one by cutting cloth, another by fitting the pieces together. One cook boiled meat only, another only roasted it, a third only broiled fish, a fourth only boiled it; one man did nothing but make bread, and that only of one sort, leaving others to devote their attention to bread of other qualities.* Of course such a state of things could prevail only, as he says, in great cities, where the demand was almost unlimited; but he testifies to the exceeding perfection with which the work was performed.

In the earliest specimens of Sanscrit literature, such as the *Ramâyana*, the *Laws of Menu*, and even

* *Cyrop.* viii.

the Vedas, we find abundant allusion to a minute division of labour, and a distribution of the people into a vast variety of trades and occupations, existing in India, perhaps fifteen centuries before the Christian era.

The processes of metallurgy were certainly known before the flood, whether we read Tubalcain "an instructor of artificers," or "a sharpener of implements" in copper and iron. The Assyrians were proficient in the art from the very earliest times of which we have any monumental records. We have already mentioned the metallic riches of their mountains, which produce silver, iron, copper, lead, and antimony; gold was probably obtained by commerce, for it was used in great abundance. The precious metals were employed as the representatives of wealth in Mesopotamia as early as the migration of Abram, as appears from the Sacred Narrative, which describes the patriarch, immediately after that event, as "very rich in cattle, in silver and in gold." (Gen. xiii. 2).

The Book of Job affords us some interesting allusions to the processes of metallurgy in a very early age. One of these, very full in its details (xxviii. 1—11), we give in Dr. Good's version, which the reader may compare with that of our Bibles.

There is a mine for the silver,
And a bed for the gold which men refine :
Iron is dug from the earth,
And the rock poureth forth copper.
[Man] delveth into [the region of] darkness,
And examineth to the utmost limit

The stores of darkness and death-shade :
He breaketh up the veins from the matrice,
Which, though nothing thought of under the foot,
Are drawn forth, are brandished among mankind.
The earth itself poureth forth bread ;
But below it windeth a fiery region :
Sapphires are its stones,
And gold is its ground ;
The eagle knoweth not its pathway,
Nor the eye of the vulture descrieth it ;
The whelps of ferocious beasts have not tracked it,
Nor the ravenous lion sprung upon it.
Man thrusteth his hand into the sparry ore,
He upturneth the mountains from the roots :
He cutteth out channels through the rocks,
And his eye discerneth every precious gem :
He restraineth the waters from oozing,
And maketh the hidden gloom become radiance.

The skill of the early Assyrian artificers is proved by the delicacy and beauty of the works which they wrought. The sculptures show them to have possessed metal tools of temper to cut and fashion stone, and that not only the yielding alabaster of which the bas-reliefs were made. Limestone, white marble, black marble or basalt, stones of great hardness, attest the temper of the tools which carved them into precise forms, and engraved their polished surfaces with deeply sunken characters. The Obelisk from the mound of Nimroud, and the sitting statue from Kalah Sherghat, which ascend to the earliest era of the monuments, are covered with long inscriptions in the cuneiform character, cut with extraordinary delicacy and sharpness.

There is reason to believe that the Egyptians

were acquainted with the manufacture of steel, for butchers are depicted sharpening their knives with just such an implement as is now used for the purpose: and indeed the change produced in iron by the addition of carbon, could scarcely remain unknown to a people who used wood as the fuel of their smelting furnaces. Iron was used by the Assyrians in the earliest times for weapons and accoutrements, as is proved by the scales of mail, and the helmets, of this metal, which Mr. Layard found in the ruins of Nimroud. The same gentleman found a fragment of a large saw in iron, now in the British Museum. It was thick, with small, even teeth, and was probably not very effective. Implements and fragments of iron overlaid with copper, have been recovered in some abundance.

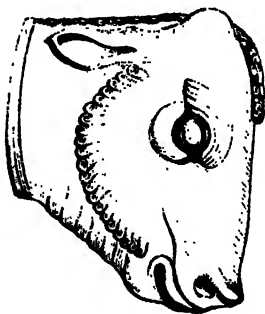
Copper, either pure, or mingled with tin to form the alloy known as bronze, was probably the most common metal, and was employed for many purposes for which we should now use iron or steel. It seems to have been the staple for weapons and armour, for tools of all sorts, for cutlery, for various parts of harness and chariots, for domestic vessels, mirrors, and other utensils, for the socket-feet of tables, couches, &c., for nails and pins, and probably a vast variety of other objects. It was employed to inlay iron, and, according to M. Botta, the characters of inscriptions cut in stone were sometimes filled up with this metal, which when newly polished, must have had a beautiful effect.

Mr. Layard has deposited in the British Museum

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nearly a hundred copper bells, varying from 1½ inch to 3 inches in height, furnished with a ring for suspension, and with iron clappers. Doubtless such were "the bells of the horses" mentioned in Zech. xiv. 20.

The art of producing a chased surface upon metal by blows with the hammer was known to the Assyrians. M. Botta mentions a calf's head in copper, about as large as a man's fist, of good workmanship, which had not been cast, but wrought in this way. It had formed the terminal ornament to the arm of a chair or throne, and showed the holes through which the nails passed that fastened it to the wood. Many fragments of similar ornaments prove the art to have been common.



CALF'S HEAD ORNAMENT.

This gentleman remarks that all the objects in bronze or copper discovered, are very well made, and much superior to any that are manufactured in the East at present. •

Lead does not appear to have been much used; though its perishability would doubtless prevent many traces of it from being now found. The cramps of iron or copper that were used to brace the slabs together in building were probably secured by melted lead. A bridge built over the Euphrates at Babylon by Nitocris, was formed, according to Herodotus (i. 186), of stones bound together with plates of lead and iron.

The great abundance of the precious metals in ancient times is a remarkable fact, resting on irrefragable evidence. The enormous amount of treasure accumulated by David for the building of the Temple (1 Chron. xxii. 14); the vast quantities collected by Solomon (2 Chron. ix. 13); the statements that this king "made silver and gold at Jerusalem as plenteous as stones" (2 Chron. i. 15) and that everything in his house was of gold, because silver was "nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon" (2 Chron. ix. 20)—all combine to show, with the history of other Asiatic nations, and particularly of the Persians, that that age really abounded in precious metal, which was imported in extraordinary quantities from India, Arabia, and Africa. Herodotus (i. 183) mentions a statue of solid gold at Babylon twelve cubits high; he says he did not himself see it, but was assured of it by the Chaldeans; as also of another large golden statue, a table, and a throne, which together weighed (exclusive of the first statues 800 talents, or upwards of 40 tons. Nor will this appear apocryphal, when we add the inspired testimony to the existence of an image of gold in the

same kingdom (Dan. iii. 1) of 60 cubits high (probably including the pedestal) and 6 cubits broad. Diodorus states that the gold taken by Xerxes from the temple of Belus at Babylon amounted to more than 7350 Attic talents, or 21 millions sterling.

It is reasonable to suppose, from what we know of the relation of the two mighty cities, Nineveh and Babylon, that the images of the gods in the former city were also made of gold; and that the profusion with which the precious metals were employed in the decoration of the palaces of the king and his nobles was not less in the Assyrian than in the Babylonian metropolis. Sardanapalus is recorded to have placed on his magnificent funeral pile, 150 golden couches, 150 tables of the same metal, besides vases and ornaments innumerable; and the Prophet Nahum declares (ii. 9) that the spoil of silver and the spoil of gold were without end.

It appears from Cæsar and Diodorus Siculus, that there was a great abundance of gold among the Celtæ: the people wore the richest and most ponderous ornaments of that metal, as torques, chains, breastplates, and had even the frontlets of their helmets covered with plates of gold. . . The great abundance of gold found by Cæsar in the cities and temples of Gaul, absolutely diminished its value in Italy. . . The aggregate amount of the articles of manufactured gold found in the course of twelve months in the bogs and fields of Ireland is truly surprising,—most of them of exquisite and elaborate workmanship. . .

It may be safely said that there are found a thousand articles in gold to one of silver.*

The bracelets, ear-rings, diadems, chains, and other ornaments, used in personal decoration, with the exquisite forms given to the chased cups and vases, arms and accoutrements, which were doubtless often of the precious metals, show the skill which was possessed by the artisans of Asia, whether they were native Assyrians† or not; and such articles, in great variety of elegant shapes, formed a very important item in the tribute which Egypt received from the Asiatic nations.‡

One of the most delicate of all the processes of metallurgy is that of overlaying with thin leaves of metal. Mr. Layard discovered on more than one occasion fragments of gold leaf, beaten to great tenuity; and once in such a situation as to prove that it had been deposited before or during the erection of the north-west palace of Nimroud. Gilding was extremely common in Egypt even from the most remote periods to which the monuments extend.‡

The great value which attached to skilled labour in the mechanical arts, is shown by the fact that a conqueror was careful to transport the artisans of a land which he had subdued, to his own country. Thus the Philistines in the days of Saul had removed all the smiths from the land of Israel, together with all the principal tools employed in

* Betham's *Etruria Celtica*, ii. 102, 104.

† Rosellini, *passim*.

‡ Wilkinson, iii. 234.

cutlery (1 Sam. xiii. 19—21); and Nebuchadnezzar, on the capture of Jerusalem, pursued the same policy. In this latter case the sacred historian has mentioned no less than four times (2 Kings xxiv. 14, 16; Jer. xxiv. 1; xxix. 2) the deportation of the “craftsmen and smiths;” and always in connexion with the princes and nobles.

Next in importance to the arts of metallurgy may be reckoned the textile manufactures. It is probable that the Assyrians were familiar with cotton as an Indian article of clothing, and imported it from that country. No species of *Gossypium*, however, is indigenous to the Mesopotamian valley, nor to the bordering regions. Theophrastus (iv. 9) mentions it as cultivated on an island in the Persian Gulf, but it had doubtless been transported thither from India; and from Herodotus’ specific notice of the “tree-wool, in beauty and quality excelling that of sheep,” which grew in India (iii. 106), we may certainly infer that he had never met with the plant in Babylonia. Rosellini found some cotton seeds in a tomb at Thebes, which proves that the Egyptians were acquainted with the material; though he was in error in supposing the mummy-cloths to be cotton.

Linen and woollen fabrics were doubtless the staple productions of the Assyrian looms, in both which the national skill was proverbial. We have already seen that silk also was a common material of manufacture among them; but as no specimens of their fabrics have come down to us, the slight

notices we have already given to this subject may suffice.

The principle of spinning thread or yarn by twisting together individual fibres, and thus gaining additional strength, involves of course the manufacture of cords and ropes, as the latter is but a carrying out of the former. The prevalence of cords, tassels and fringes in the court costume, prove that this art was much cultivated: the material employed for these appendages was probably wool or silk. Ropes also are occasionally represented, as in the towing of the ferry-boat in which the king crosses a river, from Nimroud, and in a bas-relief figured by Mr. Layard.* It is likely that slender thongs of leather or raw hide were sometimes twisted into cords, as for the lashes of whips, the halters and reins of horses, and various parts of harness.

Tanning, or some process of preserving the hides and pelts of animals, was practised in very early ages. The very first clothing worn by man, put on our first parents even before their expulsion from Eden, consisted of "coats of skins" prepared by the beneficent hand of God himself (Gen. iii. 21). Fine leather embossed and gilded was made by the early Egyptians, and specimens of it are now preserved, which are marked with the names of kings who lived before the Exodus.† The Tabernacle in the Wilderness was covered (Exod. xxxv. 7) with curtains made of rams' skins dyed red, that is, probably, red morocco leather, which, as is well known, has

* Nineveh and its Remains, ii. 32.

† Wilkinson, iii. 155.

been manufactured in North Africa from the remotest ages, and "badgers' skins," or rather the skins of the *tahash* (תחש), supposed to be the Dugong or dolphin of the Red Sea (*Halicore tabernaculi*) the skin of which is still used by the Arabs, under the same appellation.

Leather was doubtless largely employed in Assyria for the harness on which so much decoration was bestowed; it was probably embossed, gilded, dyed and painted, as is still the custom among the martial races of Central Asia and India. Sandals were also made of leather, which appears to have been of a delicate sort, and often coloured in stripes. Probably other parts of dress may have been made of the same material, as among the neighbouring Persians, where we find a blacksmith wearing a leathern apron (afterwards for many centuries the royal standard) as early as the mythic tyrant Zôhauk. Herodotus (i. 71), as we have before mentioned, describes the same people as originally wearing trowsers and other garments of leather.

Skin vessels, for containing liquids, are frequently represented in the bas-reliefs, some rude in form, with the orifices of the limbs merely closed, others elegantly shaped into bottles, with long necks, and lips probably of metal or ivory. Skins were used also for floating rafts, as well as for aiding persons unable to swim, in crossing rivers, as already described.

We can scarcely doubt that leather, or some preparation of the skins of animals, was used for writing on. The sculptures show that scribes were in con-

stant requisition, who took regular records of every transaction of importance, and made careful accounts of the returns. They wrote with pens upon a material which was rolled up, and which was sufficiently elastic to maintain the scroll-like form as the end hung down from their hand. Mr. Layard hence infers that it was not papyrus, which is too brittle to be rolled. The appearance represented would scarcely be assumed by strips of large leaves, such as are employed by the Hindoos. The material was doubtless leather.



SCRIBES WRITING.

The Ionians, from times ancient in Herodotus's day, used the skins of goats and sheep as writing materials; as well as many of the "barbarians;"* and Zoroaster's precepts were written by order of Gushtasp (Darius Hystaspes), on 12,000 cow-hides tanned fine.†

The preparation of skins with the fur on, whether for warmth, softness, or beauty, was an art familiar to the people of Assyria and their neighbours. We have already remarked on the fondness for ornamental furs in trimming and lining garments, that has always prevailed among the Asiatics. The soft and thick-furred pelts of the spotted *Felidæ* were

* Herod. v. 58.

† Malcolm's Hist of Persia, i. 58.

worn in Assyria, Egypt, and other nations,* civilized and barbarous, perhaps frequently as beautiful trophies of personal prowess in the chase.



LEOPARD'S SKIN.

In carpentry and cabinet-making the Assyrians were in no respect inferior to the Egyptians, whose processes and tools are so copiously represented in their painted tombs, and of whose workmanship in these arts so many specimens have excited the admiration of modern beholders.

The vast heaps of charcoal filling the halls of those palaces that were destroyed by fire, show that wood was largely used in the interior of edifices, and perhaps in the construction of their roofs, and in the pillars that supported them;† and a portion of a beam in good preservation, apparently of mulberry-tree, was found by Mr. Layard in the south-west palace of Nimroud. The multitudinous purposes for which timber would be employed by a people in the polished condition of the Assyrians, of course need not be enumerated; we must, however, again allude to the beauty of their cabinet-work, as displayed in the elegant

- In Ilium's van

The godlike Paris shone; a leopard's skin

Adorned his shoulder.

Il. iii. 18.

† The reader is referred to the arguments of Mr. Fergusson, in his *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 359.

designs adopted for their thrones, chairs, tables, and couches, and the elaborate carving which frequently covered them. The Assyrian workman was not dependent, any more than his Egyptian brother, upon cross-bars to give stability to his table or chair, but was able to finish a piece of furniture without them, trusting to the precision of his mortised joints; a fact that proclaims the skill of his hand, and the excellence of his tools.

At present the principal timber in Koordistan is that of the plane (*Platanus*), of a fine damasked grain, which is cut on the ancient Zagros mountains: it is floated down the rivers to the Tigris, and thence to Bagdad, where the scarcity of timber makes it profitable. Mulberry, and nut, are also cut, chiefly in gardens. Poplar is chiefly cut about Jezirah and Amadiah. As nature remains the same, amidst all the vicissitudes of empires and nations, we may justly infer that the same sorts of timber supplied the artisans of earliest Nineveh.

Allied to the profession of the wood-carver, but requiring still more delicacy, almost entitling it to be reckoned among the fine arts, was that of the worker in ivory. The early appearance of the elephant in the sculptures, viz. on the black obelisk of Temen-bar; and the representation of heaps of its tusks among the spoil of captured cities in the bas-reliefs of Nimroud, show that the material must have been known and appreciated at a very ancient date. It was probably obtained both by tribute and commerce; from India on the one hand, and from Africa, through the Phœnicians and perhaps the

Arabians, on the other.* The specimens of ivory that have been discovered, must all, we believe, be attributed to an age posterior to the destruction of the north-west palace of Nimroud, and therefore subsequent to the earlier dynasty. It is possible that the triennial importations of ivory by the fleets of Solomon (1 Kings x. 22) may have caused this beautiful material to be somewhat abundant in Western Asia. The principal relics consist of small panels and tables, which, from their form, and from various mortises and projections with which they are furnished, seem to have faced the interior or



IVORY CARVING.

exterior of some cabinet. Their subjects are my-

* The Etruscans, before the foundation of Rome, used ivory in profusion (Mrs. Gray's *Etruria*, 39); they probably obtained it by trade with the Phœnician sister-colonies in North Africa.

thological and royal, represented in Egyptian fashion, even to the inclosing of the king's name, written in hieroglyphics, in an oval *cartouche*. The workmanship is exquisite.*

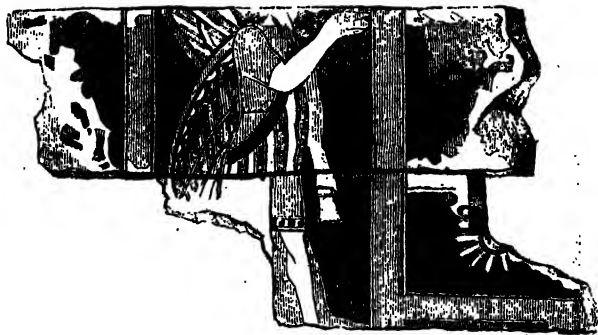
The ceramic processes date from a very early point in human history. Fictile vases and utensils occur in the antique remains of almost every people; and could we suppose mankind to have gradually emerged from a pristine savage state to the condition of civilization, we might adduce the potter's art as one of the very first which would be invented. The universal occurrence of clay, its various degrees of softness when moistened by rain, the ease with which it takes any form, moulded by the fingers without the aid of tools, and the tenacity with which it retains the shape imposed on it, would occur to any observer; and the casual hardening of a lump of clay in a fire would soon suggest the mode of giving permanence and strength to the utensil.

The mention of bricks soon after the Deluge by the Sacred Historian (Gen. xi. 3) does not imply an invention of an art, but a recourse to one already well known in all its uses and processes; nor do we suppose that the Babel builders were the first brick-

* When these remains were discovered they were so decomposed that they were ready to crumble into dust on being touched, and it was only by the most delicate manipulation that they could be disinterred, and packed for transmission to Europe. After their arrival here, at the suggestion of Professor Owen, they were soaked in a solution of pure gelatine, mixed with a small portion of alcohol, at a temperature from 115° to 120°. The gelatine was rapidly imbibed, and the evaporation of the water remaining in the substance being promoted by the alcohol, they became again hard and perfect ivory.

makers, but that seeing in the Euphratean plain a site eminently suitable for their intended tower, and in its soil a material with whose adaptability to building they were familiar, they resolved to employ that style of architecture and that substance, which the locality rendered most appropriate.

Bricks, as we have seen, were the chief material of architecture not only in the plain of Shinar, but in Assyria. The tenacious brick-earth was everywhere abundant, and though building stone could be obtained from the neighbouring mountains, it would be at considerably increased expense. Hence bricks,



PAINTED BRICKS.

merely sun-dried for the dwellings of the common people, and for the parts even of royal palaces that were to be protected from the weather, and kiln-burnt for such parts as required hardness and durability, were the staple of building. Slabs of gypsum or alabaster were employed to face the walls, and in some cases the floors,* of the royal palace, because

of its appearance of strength, and its capability of being sculptured.

The bricks that formed the upper part of the palace walls were painted, (or rather the *wall* was painted) either with scenes similar to those sculptured on the slabs below, or in elegant patterns. At Khorsabad the principal colours used were green, yellow, and white; while blue, red, and black were more sparingly employed. At Nimroud the tints were nearly the same, but more equally distributed, and with more variety. M. Botta, speaking of the Khorsabad bricks, says that their temper is coarse, and the burning seems to have been slight, for they possess little firmness; the painted surface appears to have been made level by means of a bed of fine clay, on which was placed a layer of lime or plaster.* "Some bricks from Nimroud," observes Mr. Layard, "appear to have been enamelled, the colours having been laid on thickly when in a liquid state, and then exposed to the action of fire."†

Pottery, and various objects in terra-cotta, have been discovered in the debris, principally of the Nimroud mound. Many of the vases are of elegant forms, and similar to those of the Greeks, of which they were probably models. Jars of various kinds, amphoræ with pointed bottoms, intended to be placed in ring-stands, pitchers of porous pottery for cooling liquids, pans much like our washing-pans, bowls or cups, lamps for burning naphtha, and other utensils, were made in this material. Red unglazed basins were not uncommon, bearing an inscription in the

* Mon. de Nin. v. 171.

† Nineveh and its Remains, ii. 312.

cursive character, running in many lines around the interior, and reaching to the bottom. To these may be added small statuettes, symbolic figures, and figures representing a duck with the head reverted and laid upon the back,—a favourite, but to us an unintelligible device. Some symbolic statuettes found at Khorsabad were painted, some blue, others black. Some of the vases were covered with a blue glaze, like those of Egypt. A fragment of a white earthen vessel was found at Nimroud, adorned around the brim with a representation of a siege, closely like those on the slabs, with an inscription beneath.



POTTERY.

M. Botta found at Khorsabad a ram's head of potter's clay, of beautiful execution; but unfor-

unfortunately it was not preserved. The same gentleman discovered, in the trenches, a considerable number of balls of clay, hardened by fire, each bearing on one side a sealed impression of an emblem common on cylinders, and in the Persepolitan sculptures, representing a man stabbing a rampant lion, which he grasps by the mane of its forehead. The hair, beard, and dress of the figure are undoubtedly Assyrian.

The scene is surrounded by an ornamental border, outside of which is always a short inscription in cuneiform characters, differing on each specimen. Strange to say, this inscription was never impressed with the seal that produced the symbolic scene, but was manifestly graven by hand, or scratched with a style, while the clay was soft. The balls of clay were roughly shaped with the hand, and still retain the impress of the fingers, and even the fine lines of the skin, except where the seal has been pressed. They are pierced with a hole, in which are seen the remains of burnt cord.

M. Botta regards these seals as having been used to prove the inviolability of doors, &c., that were not allowed to be opened. He thinks that they illustrate the account given in the apocryphal story of Bel and the Dragon, where the king is described as sealing the temple-door with his own signet, and as asking the next morning, if the seals were whole (ev. 11 and 17).

The mode in which the process of sealing was effected was probably somewhat like the following: the door or the lid to be secured was tied with a

cord, around the two meeting ends of which the ball of clay was moulded, and squeezed tight with the hand; the seal was then impressed on one side, and the inscription scratched. It is evident that the door could not be opened without cutting the cord or breaking the seal, neither of which could be replaced. This mode of securing doors is still common in the East. "The doors of Joseph's granary in Old Cairo are kept carefully sealed, but its inspectors do not make use of wax on this occasion, but put their seal upon a *handful of clay*."* It has been suggested that the custom may have been handed down traditionally from the times of Joseph himself; since it appears from Mr. Harmer's account, that there is a lock on the door.

It is remarkable that all the specimens discovered were found in one part of the mound.†

The learned discoverer might have adduced also, in confirmation of his suggestion, the account given by Herodotus (ii. 121) of Rhampsinitus, the king of Egypt, who endeavoured to secure his treasury inviolate by bolting the door and placing seals upon it. Possibly the treasure-chamber of King Shalmaneser was situated near that part of the palace where the clay-seals were found. The use of clay for seals is as early as the time of Job (xxxviii. 14). "It is turned as clay to the seal."

Similar clay seals have been deposited in the British Museum by Mr. Layard. The most common device is that just described, but in some cases the same lump bears several different seals. The object

* Harmer's Observations, ii. 457. † Mon. de Nin. v. 169.

was probably to insure the presence of several persons at the opening of the door or chest.

A few specimens of glass, obtained in different localities, bear witness to the existence and to the excellence of this manufacture, at least as early as the Lower Dynasty. Mr. Layard found at Kouyunjik the fragments of a long-necked glass bottle, and a small decanter of opaque whitish glass. At



GLASS VASES.

Nimroud he discovered a very elegant vase or phial of clear glass, now in the British Museum; the surface is "incrusted with thin, semi-transparent laminæ, which glow with all the brilliant colours of the opal." This appearance is frequently met with in fragments of glass that have been buried even for a few years, and is, we believe, produced by the oxydization of the metal employed in its composition.

The beautiful little vase in question belonged to King Shalmaneser, whose name it bears.

In the mound of Nebbi Yunus, M. Botta found a small phial of the same material; it was round, with a short neck, and a trumpet-shaped mouth. The substance, which was exceedingly thin, was white, marked with black spots, fused into the mass, in the manner of certain glasses of Venice or Bohemia, made with bundles of threads of various colours. The specimen was unfortunately broken after it was discovered.

The little vases and bottles of glass in the British Museum, brought by Mr. Layard, chiefly from Kouyunjik, seem to have been chiefly used for the toilet. They are generally very elegant in form. Some are opaque, being covered with a thin coat of white enamel. A piece of glass tubing, about an inch in the bore, and a foot in length, is so covered. Many Fragments of glass have been recovered, which reflect the opaline iridescence mentioned above, with extraordinary splendour; the blues and greens predominating in some, in others the reds and yellows.

The ivory ornaments from Nimroud were inlaid with minute pieces of blue glass, or *lapis lazuli*. Beads and cylinders of glass have also been found; but the era of their manufacture is uncertain.

The practical knowledge of mechanics possessed by the Assyrians must have been considerable, as is proved by the machines which they built, and the works which they accomplished. The construction of their forts, of their battering-rams, catapults, and

assault towers, and of the embankments upon which these were placed, sufficiently proves their proficiency in military engineering. Nor are evidences wanting that they were equally skilled in civil engineering. Canals in great number, and of dimensions sufficient for commercial navigation, were cut at an early period across the Mesopotamian plain, uniting at many points the Tigris with the Euphrates. Col. Chesney was struck by the frequent recurrence at short intervals of ancient irrigating aqueducts on the borders of that part of the Euphrates that lies opposite the ruined mounds of the Assyrian cities. They are beautiful specimens of art, and their structure and durability show how far advanced were their builders in the science of hydraulics. Connected with these aqueducts were built dams across the river, firmly constructed of stone, intended to maintain the water at the required height in the dry seasons; an opening left in the centre allowed the passage of boats up and down. The course of the Tigris, just opposite Nimroud, is intercepted by a similar dam, a mass of solid masonry, whose strength has resisted the impetuosity of the river for ages, and still stands in its integrity to witness the skill and power of Assyrian engineers. When the river is low it appears above water, and is seen to be constructed of vast stones, hewn and squared, united by cramps of iron. These and many similar dams in all the rivers of this region, not only existed, but were so ancient at the time of Alexander's conquest of Asia, that their very object and purpose were only obscurely known.

The traditions of the mighty works of Semiramis, the bridge of stone over the Euphrates,* clamped with iron and lead, the tunnel beneath the bed of the river, the brazen apartments into which passages were obtained by a certain engine, the pensile gardens of Nebuchadnezzar, and the hydraulic machines by which water was raised to their lofty summit, are all indications,—not to be despised because somewhat veiled in a venerable obscurity,—of the science and art of these ancient nations.

It is almost needless to say that to a people who executed such works the dynamical powers must have been familiar. Most of them, indeed, are displayed in the sculptures. The *lever* is represented by the crow-bars with which the warriors prized out the stones of besieged fortresses, and by the balances in which they weighed their spoil. The *inclined plane* is shown in the embankments upon which the military engines were pushed to the walls. The *wheel and axle* were used abundantly in the chariots, waggons, carts, and drays,† which appear continually. The *cord* and *pulley* were found by Mr. Layard in the most ancient palace of Nimroud,‡ precisely similar to those in use among ourselves. No representation has been found of *the screw*; but as it was known to the Greeks, who attribute its

* The mention of a "bridge over the sea" between India and Ceylon, in the Ramâyana (i. § 1) though only a poetical fiction, shows that such structures were familiar to the Hindoos at a very remote antiquity.

† In a siege at Khorsabad (Botta, pl. 140) a sort of low dray or truck is represented, with four solid wheels, carrying what appears to be a plain cylindrical column.

‡ Nineveh and its Remains, ii. 32.

invention to Archimedes, it is not impossible that it was familiar to the Assyrians, from whom so many Greek "inventions" were borrowed.

We can scarcely doubt that artificial roads were made by a people so fertile in resources as this. The track of commercial caravans would be fixed at a very early period, and the various marts lying in the great lines of traffic would be soon settled upon. Several of these lines we may be certain met at Nineveh, the metropolis of the world, such as from China and Central Asia, from India, from Babylonia, from Egypt and Arabia, and from Phœnicia. It is hardly to be supposed that such roads would be mere foot-tracks gradually and irregularly beaten by the passage of men and beasts. At least in many situations, as across marshes, over mountains and along precipitous passes, engineering would be absolutely necessary. The progress of armics, moreover, would require the construction of military roads, made with more than ordinary care for strength and durability; and such, we know, from the example of the Romans, were elaborately formed by conquering nations.

An old traveller thus speaks of one of these monuments of ancient skill and power yet remaining in Persia. "The most part of the night we rode upon a paved causeway, broad enough for ten horses to go abreast; built by extraordinary labour and expense over a part of a great desert, which is so even that it affords a large horizon: howbeit, being of a boggy loose ground upon the surface, it is covered with white salt, in some places a yard deep;

a miserable passage! for if either the wind drive the loose salt abroad, which is like dust, or that by accident the horse or camel forsake the causeway, the bog is not strong enough to uphold them, but suffers them to sink past all recovery.”*

Such roads, whether constructed for the purposes of military enterprise or for the peaceful employments of commerce, would, when once made, be found so advantageous to the nation, as to be under the special care of the state. Hence the expression, “the king’s highway,” which is one of great antiquity. Thus, on the Exodus from Egypt, we find Israel petitioning for the liberty of passage “by the king’s highway” through the land of Edom, one of the great commercial lines of road already noticed.

Let us pass, I pray thee, through thy country: we will not pass through the fields, or through the vineyards, neither will we drink of the water of the wells; we will go by the king’s high-way, we will not turn to the right hand nor to the left, until we have passed thy borders. And Edom said unto him, Thou shalt not pass by me, lest I come out against thee with the sword. And the children of Israel said unto him, We will go by the high-way: and if I and my cattle drink of thy water, then I will pay for it: I will only, without doing any thing else, go through on my feet. Numb. xx. 17—19.

And a few years later the same terms are used (xxi. 22) respecting the road through the country of the Amorites beyond Jordan, doubtless the continuation of the same caravan-route. *

The same expression is used in the Hindoo statutes of a period a few centuries later. For the Institutes of Menu (ix. 282) prescribe with minute-

* Herbert’s Travels in Asia and Afrique.

ness the scrupulous cleanliness in which "the King's high-way" must be preserved.

Josephus asserts that King Solomon "did not neglect the care of the ways, but laid a *causeway of black stone* along the roads that led to Jerusalem, both to render them easy for travellers, and to manifest the grandeur of his riches and government."*

Since the publication of Mr. Layard's work he is reported to have uncovered the pavement of one of the city gates of Nineveh, deeply indented with the ruts caused by the chariot-wheels. It would be interesting to know how far from the gate into the country the pavement extended.

The imagery employed by the Prophet Isaiah to describe the course of John, the harbinger of the Lord Jesus, as well as to announce future blessing to Israel, afford us graphic illustrations of ancient Oriental roads.

Prepare ye the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain. Isa. xl. 3, 4.

Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones; lift up a standard for the people. Isa. lxii. 10.

It is interesting to find, in the Assyrian sculptures, the representation of a highway, exactly contemporaneous with these descriptions. In one of those martial expeditions which Sennacherib appears to have frequently conducted into the surrounding mountainous regions, the pioneers are seen engaged

* Antiq. VIII. vii. 4.

with their axes in cutting down the trees for the passage of the army through the woods. And in another bas-relief from the same palace, a broad straight road is represented running through the mountain-forest, on which the cavalry are galloping in line, accompanied by the king himself in the royal chariot.*

Mr. Layard's valuable discovery of a vaulted chamber in the Nimroud mound, proves the knowledge of the true arch, and is of interest on other accounts. It was built of burnt bricks, beneath a thick wall of sun-dried bricks, which appears to have been erected after the chamber had fallen into disuse. "It was about ten feet high, and the same in width. The arch was constructed upon the well-known principle of vaulted roofs,—the bricks being placed sideways, one against the other, and having been probably sustained by a framework until the vault was completed. This chamber was nearly filled with rubbish, the greater part of which was a kind of slag; the sides of the bricks forming the arched roof and the walls were almost vitrified, and had evidently been exposed to very intense heat. In fact, the chamber had the appearance of a large furnace for making glass, or for fusing metal."† Mr. Layard could find no access to the interior from without, buried as it was in the centre of the superincumbent wall.

Whatever was the use of this vault, it was in all probability identical in structure with that "burning fiery furnace" at Babylon, into which the three noble

* Layard, pls. 76 and 81. † Nineveh and its Remains, ii. 41.

witnesses for Jehovah were cast, and which appears to have been an ordinary engine of capital punishment.

Whoso falleth not down and worshippeth shall the same hour be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.

Then was Nebuchadnezzar full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego: therefore he spake, and commanded that they should heat the furnace one seven times more than it was wont to be heated. And he commanded the most mighty men that were in his army to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, and to cast them into the burning fiery furnace. Then these men were bound in their coats, their hosen, and their hats, and their other garments, and were cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace. Therefore because the king's commandment was urgent, and the furnace exceeding hot, the flame of the fire slew those men that took up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego. And these three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace. Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonished, and rose up in haste, and spake, and said unto his counsellors, Did not we cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? They answered and said unto the king, True, O king. He answered and said, Lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God. Then Nebuchadnezzar came near to the mouth of the burning fiery furnace, and spake, and said, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, ye servants of the most high God, come forth, and come hither. Then Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, came forth of the midst of the fire. Dan. iii. 6—26.

It appears from this narrative that the furnace had an orifice in the side, through which the interior could be seen, and from which the martyrs emerged; and such a construction, it appears to us, must have been originally given to the Nimroud chamber, in order to make it available for any imaginable purpose. It is worthy of remark, that Oriental tradition has preserved an account of Abram's having been

cast into a furnace of fire at Nineveh, by command of the tyrant Nimrod.

It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to estimate with any approximation to accuracy, how far the knowledge possessed by the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Chaldeans was what we should call scientific ; or, in other words, how far they had proceeded from the observation of facts and results, to the knowledge of laws or principles, from which other facts and results might be legitimately deduced. It would be unfair, however, to deny them some acquaintance with science. The observations made on the heavenly bodies, in various parts of the East, enabled astronomers from very early ages to determine many of the celestial motions, and even to foretel eclipses. The beautiful dyes with which their fabrics were illuminated, the formation of colours for painting, the manufacture of glass, and many of the processes of metallurgy, prove them to have been no tyros in practical chemistry. A familiarity with geometrical and mathematical science is shown by the magnificent works in engineering and architecture, which at an early age covered the earth ; works whose execution required the utmost precision and symmetry, strict rules and pre-formed plans. Several other sciences, more or less perfectly cultivated, have already come before our notice in the preceding pages, such as navigation, music, war, government, &c., to which we need not again refer.

Agriculture was carried on with much success in Assyria and Babylonia. Herodotus, who feared to

state the height to which sesame and millet grew, lest he should be deemed to exaggerate, speaks of corn yielding a return of two hundred fold continually, and in the best seasons three hundred fold. He asserts that the blades of wheat and barley attained a breadth of full four fingers, and declares that the country was the most fertile known.*

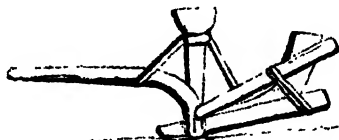
This fertility, though doubtless partly inherent in the soil, was yet largely indebted to cultivation the most patient, industrious, and careful. The system of irrigation pursued was most elaborate; we have already mentioned the canals, aqueducts, and hydraulic engines which were constructed for this purpose. Fruit of various kinds was cultivated; the vine and the palm are continually seen in the sculptures; from the latter were made bread, wine, and a sort of honey;† and the mode of impregnating its flowers by stamiferous blossoms from other trees of the same species, was known and practised by the ancient Assyrians, as it is at this day throughout the East.

The sculptures have preserved no representations of agricultural operations, nor (with one exception) of the implements of husbandry. The exception is that of a plough on a bas-relief of black marble, found near Mosul, and now in the possession of Lord Aberdeen. It appears to have been a more effective instrument than any depicted on the Egyptian monuments. It consisted of a long beam much like those of modern ploughs, nearly horizontal, but curved downward at the base; a single stout oblique handle;

* Herod. i. 193.

† Ibid. loc. cit.

and a sole, which seems not to have any share affixed; perhaps this appendage was removable when not in use.* Bars (or else a double rope), connecting the hinder part of the sole with the handle, kept it firm against the strain produced in action. What seems a mould-board curved up on the right side from the sole, somewhat like the *dentalia* of the Roman plough,



but quite as large as those used among us. Finally, a cup at the top of a perpendicular tube for drilling the seed into the furrow, is seen just behind the point of the sole, but in front of the mould-board, by the action of which it was instantly covered with the upturned soil. The drill-tube was made steady by diagonal stays or lines proceeding to the beam and to the handle.† The other objects in the scene are a heap of grain (?), a date-palm bearing fruit, and a four-cornered implement which has been supposed to be a winnowing fan. The age of this sculpture, which possesses great interest, is not certainly known,

* "Iron-mouthed (or shod) ploughs" are mentioned in the Laws of Menu. (x. 84.)

† Sir C. Fellows, in his *Discoveries in Lycia*, has given a wood-cut of a plough in use among the mountaineers of that region; it has a remarkable resemblance to the Assyrian one figured above, and what difference there is appears to be by no means to the advantage of the modern implement.

but it is probably of the Upper Dynasty. We learn from Mr. Layard that one of the bas-reliefs at Kouyunjik represented a field of millet in ear.*

The state of the fine arts among the Assyrians has been so fully discussed, by authors more competent than the writer of the present work to deliver a judgment, that we might almost omit its consideration, referring the reader to the papers of Mr. Westmacott in the *Athenæum*, the volumes of Mr. Layard, and the work, expressly devoted to the subject, of Mr. Fergusson.

The last-named gentleman has admirably traced one of the two distinct styles, into which the Grecian architecture may be divided, to an Assyrian origin. The stern simplicity and massive grandeur of the Doric style was undoubtedly Egyptian, the light and graceful Ionic, with its profusion of ornament, was certainly Oriental. "It is a fact, that it is now impossible to doubt, that all that is Ionic in the arts of Greece is derived from the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates." It is true the fertile genius of the Greeks adapted to the circumstances of their climate, and altered to their superior taste, both the one and the other; but the essential characteristics of the African and Asiatic styles are still to be traced through all their modifications.

As it is in architecture, so it is in sculpture. In this art Assyria was still more exclusively the parent and master of Greece. The conventionalisms of Egyptian art, stereotyped as they were by the almost exclusive devotion of sculpture to mythology,

* Nineveh and its Remains, ii. 140.

which, as with an iron rule, compelled the artist to restrain his genius and follow prescribed forms, were scarcely more observed in Assyria than in Greece. The history of sculpture has been called the history of idolatry. In general this is true, whether we regard the forms of Egyptian, Indian, or Grecian art; but Assyria was an exception to the rule. Sculpture was there almost entirely an illustrative art, devoted to real, tangible, earthly existences, and scarcely at all, or at least only subordinately, employed to shadow forth the gods whom they worshipped. The sculptor was thus remarkably free from the trammels which a sacred prescription would otherwise have imposed on him, and was at liberty to study nature. Hence the earliest works of the Assyrian chisel that have been discovered, display a remarkable originality and vigour of conception, a correctness of form, a boldness in the selection of attitudes, a spirit and power in expression, and a skill in grouping, that we in vain look for in the best specimens of Egyptian art.

The Greeks, it is true, broke through the shackles in which the Egyptian sculptor worked, and having made a liberty for themselves in art as well as in government, found in the religion to which they mainly devoted their creative skill, a stimulus and a guide to such a degree of perfection as no other ancient nation ever approached. It led them to strive after ideal forms of grandeur and beauty, in which to invest their gods; to search out the philosophy, so to speak, of human beauty, and, having discovered its constituent principles, to combine all

into one perfect form, and even to carry its essential elements to an extent beyond what they actually saw in the living model; to form an imaginary perfection, while their exquisite taste preserved them from distortion and extravagance.

Assyrian art was contented to express as literally as possible the ideas derived from mere nature. It never seems (perhaps with the exception of those grand cherubic forms, in which the human countenance possesses a superhuman majesty) to have aspired to represent ideal beauty. What has been said of early Greek sculpture, was true at all times of the Assyrian: it was practised simply as a mode of illustration, and not with any view to please the senses by excellence of art.

The representation of the naked human body was not sanctioned in Assyria; for they appear to have cherished that repugnance, which several Asiatic nations have manifested, to the exposure of the person. The introduction of the female form, even fully draped, was also very unusual; and indeed seems to have been allowed only in the case of captives, and rarely of priestesses. Thus two sources of beauty, of the very highest character, open to the Greek artist, were denied to his Oriental predecessor.

We find nothing like incipient attempts at creative art among the Assyrian remains. The very earliest specimens display all the excellence of design and treatment that was ever possessed in the region. The spirit and life of the designs, the truthfulness of the execution, and even the anatomical peculi-

arities, the strong relief of the muscles, ligaments, and bones, are most remarkable in the bas-reliefs of the greatest antiquity. These qualities rather degenerated than improved in the later eras; though some of the works of the Khorsabad palace are of great beauty and excellence. The architecture, however, followed a rule, the reverse of this; for the later palaces are far more imposing and grand in their design than the edifice found in the north-west part of the Nimroud mound.

Though the Assyrian artist was not compelled to follow a prescribed form for superstitious reasons, his work contained many conventional anomalies, and, if we may use the term, solecisms. The human face was almost always drawn in profile, examples of the full face being very rare; yet the eye was re-



MOUNTAIN AND RIVER.

presented nearly as viewed in front, the *canthus* or inner angle being distinctly seen. The mode of expressing water was by a number of parallel lines

running for a short distance, and then curling round in a scroll, to represent the whirls and eddies of a river; and when the sea was intended, these eddies were depicted as running in all directions. Blood flowing from a slaughtered beast is in one case drawn in the same manner. Hills and mountains were expressed by many regular series of undulating lines, covering the surface, somewhat like what in heraldry is called *nebuly*. Trees were delineated very rudely, with two or three simple ramifications; little attempt was made to discriminate species, with the exception of the vine and the date-palm, and some member of the pine-family. In animals the rough hair, wool, or fur, was expressed by a number of pointed locks; the loose hair on the body of a bull or a lion, by an arrangement of small curls or ringlets, set as close as possible, and exactly resembling each other; fur worn as clothing, by a series of slightly undulating, but parallel, lines terminating at the edge in points. The principal animals, as the horse, the bull, and the lion, were drawn with care and with much skill; the two latter were evidently studied in various circumstances, and in every attitude, with close attention; but smaller and less known animals were very stiffly and rudely given; the forms of birds, for instance, and the feathers of their wings, the strange marine creatures introduced into the naval scenes, and the outlandish beasts brought as tribute, were but loose approximations to the reality of nature. This delineation of the subordinate animals is the only example that occurs to us, in which Egyptian drawing excels Assyrian.

The reluctance to cover any portion of a prominent personage by a trifling implement was common to both schools, and sometimes led to ludicrous absurdities; as in the spirited lion-hunt in the British Museum, where the arrow which the king is discharging seems to proceed from the farther side of his person, though the hand which draws it is on this side.* Perspective was quite unknown; foreshortening was never resorted to; nothing like a landscape with a foreground and a horizon was attempted; the corpses that lie on the battle-field are drawn as extended above the heads of the warriors; and the upper stratum of a picture is sometimes occupied by one action, and the lower by another. Proportion was not preserved: it does not however appear to have been conventionally set aside, as in Egyptian art, where the greatness of a hero's station was represented by his colossal dimensions; the king in the Assyrian bas-reliefs was no taller than his officers; and the only reason for disregard to so important an element of correct drawing was in order to introduce some object into the picture necessary to the story, but which could not have been represented in its proper dimensions.† Examples of all

* By a similar anachronism the right hand of an archer was sometimes drawn (*see the engraving on p. 311*) where in reality it ought to have been concealed by the body. The principle appears to have been, that what was subordinate should be made to yield to what was more important. The human body, being of more consequence than the bow-string or arrow, is drawn over it, but the right hand is of still greater importance, and, therefore takes precedence. See also the right shoulder of the lion in p. 422.

† Oriental art has not improved in these respects; as appears from Dr. Kitto's amusing description of Persian painting.—See *The People of Persia*, 189.

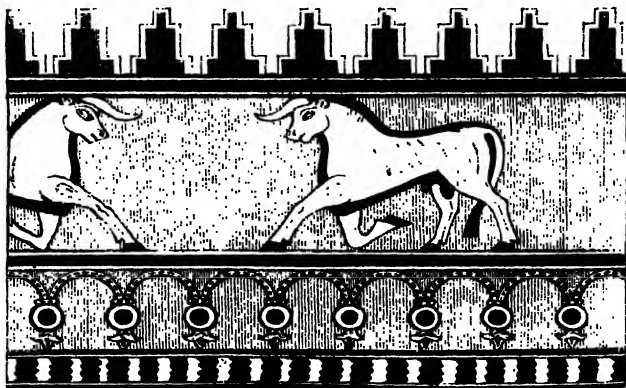
these and other similar peculiarities occur in the engravings in this volume. They do not affect the intelligibility of the representations; nor do they outrage our sense of artistic propriety to nearly the same extent as the anachronisms of the Egyptian battle-scenes and sieges, in which the confusion is generally so great that they require a somewhat practised eye to understand their import.

We know but little of Assyrian painting, at least in that higher branch of it, which consists of an appeal to the mind through the eye. There is sufficient evidence to show that they painted their sculptures; and we have reason to suppose that in general they endeavoured to approach as nearly as possible to the appropriate hues of the objects represented; but they do not seem to have been acquainted with the art of shading, of blending two tints into one, or of so mingling simple colours as to form the various shades which an imitation of nature requires. To some extent, however, they could hardly fail to have discovered that two or more colours would produce a new tint distinct from either.

Not only were the bas-reliefs themselves painted, but similar scenes were depicted on the upper range of the palace-walls by the aid of colour alone. The bricks above the alabaster slabs were covered with a thin coat of plaster, on which the design was painted in brilliant colours.* Only a few fragments have been discovered of this fragile material, enough to

* Probably this was "the plaster of the wall of the king's palace," upon which the awful fingers wrote the doom of Belshazzar. Dan. v. 5.

reveal the nature of the decoration, but insufficient to enable us to judge of its merits. The borders and cornices were also painted, as were probably the columns that supported the roof, and the roof itself, with various fanciful devices and patterns in bright and highly contrasted colours ; a style of decoration which though somewhat startling to our taste, accustomed to abjure colour in architecture, had no doubt a very rich and gorgeous effect beneath the intense sunlight of that fervid clime. We must not forget that the liberal employment of colour as an auxiliary to form, both in architecture and sculpture, prevailed in Greece even in the days of Pericles and Phidias.



CORNICE.

COMMERCE.

Thou [Nineveh] hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven. Nah. iii. 16.

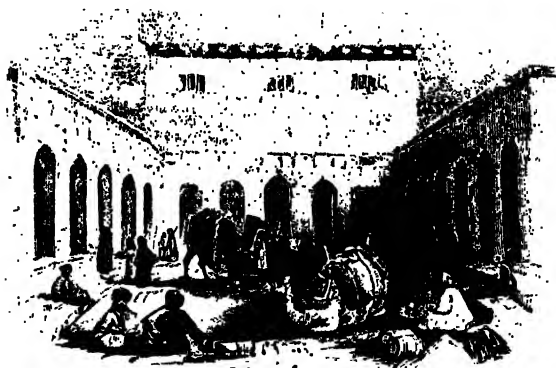
THE principles and practice of commerce must have been brought into exercise as early as the distribution of mankind into various occupations; and this we know was as early as the days of Cain and Abel. He who devoted his time and attention to the breeding of flocks, he who produced corn, wine, and oil by the cultivation of the earth, he who made garments, and he who wrought tools and utensils in wood or metal,—would stand in a relation of mutual dependence, and each would be impelled to exchange his own produce or manufacture for that of his neighbours. As soon as the human race began to spread themselves over the earth, it would be found that the products of one region differed from those of another, and thus international traffic would be superadded to social or domestic exchange, and articles of general demand would be carried from country to country by an organized system of commerce. That such a system prevailed in the antediluvian world the nature and necessity of things forbid us to doubt, but as no record of it has been preserved, we are absolutely ignorant of its details.

The arts of the drowned world were not likely to be forgotten by Noah or by his sons, the youngest of whom had had a century's experience of its customs; and whom the building of the ark, with its numerous processes of ingenious industry, and the accumulation of its various materials, must have made peculiarly familiar with the manufactures and commerce of the time. In Abraham's age (Gen. xxiii.) the transfer of a piece of land comes incidentally into the Sacred Narrative, and we find the bargain negotiated, and the terms enumerated with the precision of a modern sale; while the record proves that at that time the precious metals were recognised as a convenient medium of exchange, that in some form or other these were divided into pieces (shekels of silver, *ver.* 15) of definite value, that the worth of different commodities was commonly computed by a monetary standard (the land is worth so much money, *ver.* 9, 15); that there was a class of men known as *merchants* (*ver.* 16), and that these determined the purity, weight, and current value of money. Even earlier than this silver money is alluded to, for Abimelech, the Philistine king, presented Abraham with "a thousand [pieces] of silver" (Gen. xx. 16) before the birth of Isaac.

A generation later than this we hear of international commerce; carried on, as it has continued to be even to the present day, in caravans. (Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28). A company of merchantmen, chiefly composed of Ishmaelites and Midianites, the people of Arabia, in whose hands this traffic long remained, is introduced, travelling through the land

of Palestine from the north-east towards Egypt, whither they were carrying the spices of India, the balm of Gilead, and the myrrh of Arabia. We perceive, too, that they were perfectly willing to purchase slaves, for whom they found a ready market among the Egyptian nobles (*ver.* 28, 36).

When Joseph's brethren visited Egypt in the famine, "inns" or caravanserais for the accommodation of travellers were established on the roads leading from one country to another (*Gen.* xlii. 27), and these were principally supported by merchants :



INTERIOR OF MODERN CARAVANSERAI.

for, as in the present day in the Eastern inns, nothing but lodging (and, no doubt, water) was afforded, the travellers bringing the provender not only for themselves, but for their beasts ; the keeping of supplies for such hosts as frequently compose trading caravans being out of the question.

In the time of Job, whom most learned men judge to have been co-eval with Abraham, the mention of the gold of Ophir (Job xxviii. 16) and of the topaz of Ethiopia (*ver.* 19) proves that the productions of very distant regions were known; and the enumeration of the other costly things in this passage, the precious onyx and the sapphire, the crystal (or diamond), jewels of fine gold, rubies, with pearls and coral,—as symbols of the highest value, as well as the expressions indicating various degrees of fineness in gold,—goes to show in an interesting manner, how in that remote age the earth and sea were ransacked to supply the demands of luxury. The mention of ships proverbial for their swiftness, “the swift ships,” in the same book (ix. 26) warrants us in concluding that at least a portion of this commerce was marine.

From the Ramâyana (iii. 97) we find that merchants travelled securely through India with jewels, and other costly goods, perhaps three thousand years ago: and “Merchants covetous of gain crowding the ocean on a voyage,” are mentioned in the more ancient Rig Veda.*

It is scarcely needful to observe that the great routes of overland traffic would embrace every large city situate near their respective lines; or rather that towns lying in such lines, and especially those which formed the converging points of different lines, would infallibly become great. Nineveh was thus situated, at an uniting point of some of the most important roads of Asia, while the great river

* Wilson's Transl. pp. 128, 152.

that flowed by her walls opened up a highway to her very gates, for the maritime commerce of the Indian Ocean.

History does not tell us much of Assyrian commerce, but this silence by no means implies its non-existence. We might indubitably have inferred it, if no testimony had remained. The passage, however, at the head of this chapter from the Prophet Nahum, shows how eminently Nineveh, like Babylon, was a mart of nations. "Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven." The wealth and productions of the world were poured into her, and became one fruitful source of her luxury, her pride, and her ruin. Nor were the advantages of trade confined to one or two principal emporiums:—like a great river that winds through many lands, spreading fertility through the soil all along its course, so commerce enriched the nations through which it passed, and magnificent cities everywhere studded its pathway. Diodorus tells us that Semiramis built other cities in her dominions besides Babylon and Nineveh, and established all along the borders of the Euphrates and the Tigris marts for merchants from Media, Parthia, and other countries; while the surrounding regions were full of wealthy commercial towns.

In order to understand the mode in which the traffic of the world was brought to Assyria, we must examine the great lines of road by which ancient Asia was intersected. The most celebrated was the great military route which connected the coast of Asia Minor with the Persian Gulf. Herodotus (v. 52)

has described it as used by the Persian monarch in his day, but there can be no doubt that it had existed from time immemorial.

From Sardis, the great western metropolis of Asia, the road led through Lydia, Phrygia, Cappadocia and Cilicia till it struck the Euphrates: it crossed the river by means of boats, and proceeded through Armenia to the Tigris, doubtless at Nineveh; though, as this city was totally destroyed before Herodotus's time, he does not mention it. From this point it turned to the south-east, following the course of the Tigris valley until it reached Susa on the Choaspes, the metropolis of the Persian empire. The historian tells us that this great road had royal stations throughout its length, amounting to a hundred and eleven, and excellent inns, and that it lay through a safe and well peopled country. The distance from Sardis to Susa was 450 parasangs or 13,500 furlongs, and was ordinarily travelled in 90 days, reckoning 150 furlongs as a day's journey.

Another road, according to Strabo, went from Babylon through the midst of Mesopotamia to Anthemusia on the Euphrates, twenty-five days' distance, whence it turned to the westward through Asia Minor. The same geographer has preserved to us, after Eratosthenes, the direction of a third great commercial road of high importance; viz., that connecting India with Babylon, through which the riches of the gorgeous East found their way to the opulent markets of the West. We must ever remember that when the Greeks wrote, Nineveh was in her "grave" (Nah. i. 14); and therefore we must not expect to

find any mention of her in their descriptions; that omission we must supply. This track was the usual highway from Babylon northward; of course it led to Nineveh:* thence through a populous and well cultivated country, it proceeded due east to the southern extremity of the Caspian, where it crossed the Hyrcanian mountains at the famous pass called the Caspian Gates; about six days' journey from which was the great city, called from its hundred gates, Hecatompylos. The route was pursued through Hyrcania and Aria, whence a branch led off towards the north-east to Bactra, also a renowned city of Central Asia. This was a great military road of high antiquity, along which had doubtless been conducted those martial expeditions of Ninus and Semiramis into Bactria, whose fame tradition had preserved to the times of the Greeks.

Another branch led off from Aria to the sources of the Indus: this was exclusively a route of traffic. Here it again ramified; one route leading north to Bactra; another eastward across the great desert of Cobi, while a third led to the south-east into India.

From Nineveh another great road, perhaps second to none in importance, led to the south-west. It

* Doubtless there was a more direct road from Babylon to the Caspian Gates, passing Ecbatana, and, after the fall of Nineveh, the Indian trade probably pursued this route. But while Nineveh was the mistress of the world, we cannot but presume that she formed the centre to which commerce flowed. According to Gosselin, the merchants of Syria and Egypt passed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, from whence they proceeded by Ecbatana to the Caspian Gates. Nineveh lay in this very line. Ecbatana, it must be remembered, great as it afterwards became, was not built till the time of Esarhaddon.

was the grand channel of the Tyrian, Egyptian and Arabian trade. It struck the Euphrates at Thapsacus, about due west from Nineveh, and thence proceeded across the Syrian desert, in the midst of which was "Tadmor in the wilderness," where King Solomon built a city for the protection of the traffic: but it had, doubtless, been one of the caravan-stations long before, as it was an oasis with a good supply of water. From Tadmor the route lay westward to Baalbec, where it struck the great coast-road through Phœnicia and Palestine to Egypt. Baalbec was the grand rendezvous of the Phœnician caravan about to set out for the East.

A branch from this road proceeded to Damascus, one of the most ancient cities in the world, and, passing through the region east of the Lake of Genesaret, studded with fine commercial cities, seems to have crossed the Jordan into Palestine, and to have proceeded southward through the land of Edom, where Petra became a famous emporium, to the head of the Red Sea. It was by this road that the Arabian caravan was travelling from Gilead to Egypt, to which the youthful Joseph was sold.

Besides these there was the northern road, through which was brought the merchandise of Armenia, and doubtless also that of the regions lying to the north of the Caucasus, which we know (Ezek. xxvii. 13) traded with Tyre. The road crossed this great mountain-chain near the central point between the seas, at a pass called the Caucasian Gates, now known as the Pass of Dariel. The highest part of this road, which is still the great line of communication

from north to south, is 8000 feet above the level of the sea.

Such then were the principal routes of the ancient commerce of Asia, but we may be sure that in countries so populous and so wealthy, very important, though subordinate, roads connected these great lines, led from city to city, and from town to town, just as in the present day; distributing the merchandise of the world through every part, as the arteries convey the vital blood to the remotest extremities of the body.

Let us now examine the nature of the traffic that permeated through this great arterial system. And in this we shall be materially aided by the graphic picture which the Prophet Ezckiel presents to us of the mercantile importance of the greatest emporium of antiquity, Tyre.

"This passage," observes the learned Heeren, "so valuable for the history of national intercourse, contains a geographical view of commerce, so precise that one might almost imagine the prophet to have had a map of the world before him. . . Without these contemporary documents the extent of Tyrian commerce might have been conceived, but it could not have been proved; for the statements of the Greek writers upon this subject are extremely short and meagre. The sketch, however, of the Hebrew poet affords us an interesting picture of the great international commerce of inner Asia, which enlarges our narrow ideas of ancient trade, by showing us that it connected nearly all the countries of the known world."*

* Heeren's Hist. Researches, i. 84.

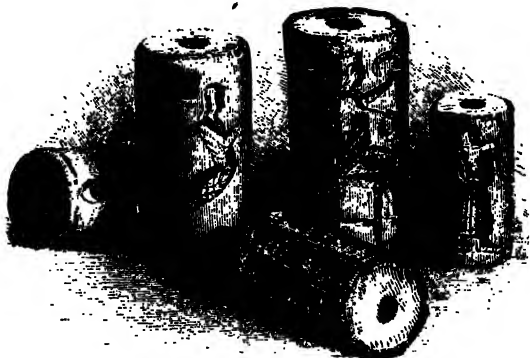
Among the numerous nations whose production found a place in the Tyrian market, the name of Asshur is mentioned, associated with Haran, Canneh, Eden, Sheba, and Chilmad, several of which names are elsewhere connected with the regions of the Tigris and the Euphrates.* The merchandise which these brought to Tyre consisted of "*blue* clothes, and *broidered* work, and chests of *rich apparel*, bound with cords, and made of cedar." We have already noticed the testimony of the same Prophet (Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12) to the gorgeousness of the Assyrian apparel, and to the curious fact that its characteristic colour was *blue*. The sculptures abundantly confirm the witness to the general richness of the raiment, and in particular to the prevalence and perfection of the embroidery used in its decoration. These textile fabrics then were the staple merchandise of Assyria, with which she traded in foreign markets. The cloths were packed in cedar chests doubtless to preserve them from the attacks of moths (Job xiii. 28; Isa. li. 8, &c.), as at the present day: we must not, however, understand the timber to have been that of the cedar of Lebanon, (*Abies cedrus*) but that of some species of *Juniperus* or *Cupressus*, which is very durable, and impregnated with a fragrant oil; and which was generally called *cedur* by the ancients.†

Another article of domestic manufacture and export, was probably the engraved cylinders, which appear to have been so generally used throughout the

* See Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, ii. 650.

† See Lindley, *Veg. Kingd.* 228, and Sibthorpe's *Flora Græca*.

East as seals. We rather notice them here than in the preceding chapter, because of the part which they are supposed to have played in commerce, as being applied to sanction bargains and documents, just as we write our signatures. The universality of their



CYLINDERS.

use may be judged of by the statement of Herodotus (i. 195), that at Babylon every man had a seal; and by the immense numbers that have been found in Assyria, Babylonia and Syria, both by European travellers, and by the natives, who consider them as amulets, and wear them about their persons.

Mr. Landsceer, who, in his *Sabæan Researches*, has thrown much light on these curious relics, informs us that they are for the most part made of hæmatite, but some are of carnelian, jasper, agate, chalcedony, and other precious stones. Generally speaking, they are cylindrical, but some of the smaller ones are hollowed slightly in the sides, some-

what like a dice-box. They vary much in size, some being ten times as large as others, but generally they may be described as from two inches to three quarters of an inch long, and about the same in circumference. The whole surface, except the ends, is covered with figures, and groups, so arranged, that the heads shall point towards one end, and the feet towards the other; generally, these are mythological; and the scenes bear a close resemblance to those of many of the Assyrian bas-reliefs; especially in the costumes, the winged and vulture headed priests, the symbolic animals, &c. Inscriptions in cuneiform characters occur on some, but are more commonly wanting.

In every case these cylinders are perforated lengthwise; and there is no doubt that at least the larger sorts were mounted on a metal axis, on which they turned freely, and the ends of which were connected with a handle, much in the manner of our stone garden-rollers. In Captain Lockett's great jasper cylinder, more than two inches long, the remains of the iron axis were found by Mr. Landseer. The smaller ones are supposed to have been sometimes pierced with a thread, and to have been worn on the finger, or on the wrist, the hollowed sides accommodating them to the part with greater ease. When not worn on the person, they may have been attached by a string to the staff, which, according to Herodotus (i. 195) every Babylonian carried; the association of the two objects in this passage, throwing light on one of much greater antiquity (Gen. xxxviii. 18), in which Judah, travelling, gives as an equivalent

for a kid, his signet, and his bracelets (a word everywhere else rendered lace or ribbon), and his staff. The signet alone was probably worth much more than a kid, and it is difficult to imagine any other reason for the addition of the other articles, except on the supposition that the perforate seal was attached by the ribbon to the staff.

The obscurity of a passage in the Book of Job (xxxviii. 14), in which light is said to be "turned as clay to the seal," has been supposed to be cleared up by a reference to these cylinders. In the use of such a seal on a flattened piece of clay, the latter bends up and partially envelops the cylinder, like a garment; and to this, the daylight spreading itself around the earth, is compared. It is a curious circumstance, that the form of the earth was believed by some of the ancients to be cylindrical.

Though the ordinary form of the seal was such as has been described, it was not exclusively so; for some, especially the poorer sort, were semi-oval, or semi-globular, with the inscription or device graven on the transverse flat face, and the top perforate.

Most of the devices borne by the seals are more or less obviously referrible to Zabaism, or star-worship. These were not arbitrarily selected. Mr. Landseer, whose knowledge of the subject entitles his opinion to the highest consideration, supposes that where this superstition prevailed, the planet or the constellation under which any individual was born, astrologically, became the device of his signet, as his patron, and was assigned by the Chaldæan priests,

who observed his horoscope.* Sealing with such a cylinder assumed a sacred character; it was a sort of pledge by heaven, like the sign of the cross used in the middle ages for a similar object.

The larger kinds were probably used in the palace and in the offices of state; the smaller by private individuals, for the ratification of the bonds of intercourse between nations, for social compacts, and for deeds of traffic.

And I bought the field of Hanameel, my uncle's son, that was in Anathoth, and weighed him the money, even seventeen shekels of silver. And I subscribed the evidence, and sealed it, and took witnesses, and weighed him the money in the balances. Jer. xxxii. 9, 10.

We will now briefly indicate the various branches of trade that occupied the great routes above enumerated. To commence with the north-west, the great peninsula now known as Asia Minor, the seat of early civilization, and once divided into several important kingdoms. The Prophet Ezekiel mentions Javan (Ionia) associated with the nations around the Black Sea, as trading in the fairs of Tyre with slaves and vessels of brass. The mineral wealth of this region was of early renown; the Chalybes were among the first metallurgists; and copper mines of great antiquity are still worked to the south of the Euxine. Strabo mentions cinnabar mines; lead mines, with silver, also exist. These valuable productions probably found their way to the markets of Assyria.

Other minerals also were probably brought from hence, as rock-alum found in large quantities on the

* Sabæan Researches, p. 42.

coast of the Black Sea; and salt from the numerous salt-lakes in the central plateau, especially that large one mentioned under the name of Tatta by Strabo, thirty miles long, whence salt is supplied to a vast extent of country. The goats' hair of surpassing fineness, for which Ancyra, the capital of Galatia, has long been famed, probably supplied some of the raw material, of which the magnificent fabrics of the Assyrian looms were woven. Some of the magnificent timber with which Asia Minor is so well stocked, might find its way in the form of rafts, from the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris to the Assyrian cities.

From Armenia and the more northern region intersected by the Caucasus came merchandise not very different from that of Anatolia and the Taurus. Horses we have already seen brought by the people of the first named country to Nineveh; and the Scythians of Tubal and Meshech, between the Euxine and Caspian, traded then, as now, in human flesh.* The seraglios of the East are filled with the most beautiful women from the regions of Circassia and Georgia. Most of the furs which, as we have seen, adorned the costume of the Assyrian court, must have been purchased from merchants who came by this route. Herodotus speaks of the Budini, a tribe of Scythians living to the north-east of the

* Slavery was generally prevalent among the Scythians of the Caucasus; and the prisoners which they made in their incessant mutual wars, they invariably sold. The slave-markets of Dioscurias and Panticapæum, on the Euxine, were largely supplied by these tribes. Strabo speaks of more than seventy tribes collected together in the great markets of the latter city. (Geogr. § xi.)

Euxine, who found in a spacious lake in their country, otters and beavers and other "square-faced" animals; the skins of these were sewn as borders to mantles, and other products from them he describes as useful in medicine.* In addition to the metallic riches of these countries, Armenia has always been celebrated for its precious stones;† abundant mines of rock-salt have for many ages been worked; and there is in the northern part a well of mineral oil which is carried to remote countries for burning.‡ The famous "Armenian stone," a sort of earth of a bright, lively blue colour used in painting, was probably imported into Assyria; for, according to Theophrastus, it was so valued that presents of it were made to great personages, and the Phœnicians were accustomed to pay their tribute in it, to the Egyptian king. Fruits and grain of various sorts, especially those which were best suited to a cold climate, besides hemp and flax, would certainly be import articles of traffic on this route. Wine also, both that made from grapes, and the fermented juice of the palm-tree,§ was brought down the rivers from Armenia.

We have now to speak of the rich and varied productions of the East, which flowed from many sources in one splendid tide of traffic through the pass of the Caspian Gates. In Central Asia stood Bactra, a vast and opulent city of great antiquity, itself a grand centre of commerce, being situate, according to the ancient Zendavesta, "on the border of the gold country, in the highway of the confluence

* Herod. iv. 109. † Strabo, x. 14; Plin. xxxvii. 23.

‡ Marco Polo, 311 (Ed. Par.)

§ Herod. i. 194.

of nations." Caravans, formed by the people of Tibet and North India, travelled into the region known as the Gold Desert, and, returning laden with the precious metal, traded in Western Asia with it, adding valuable dyes and fine wool. Ctesias' account of the immense caravans, consisting of one or two thousand persons, that departed into the Desert, and did not return until the third or fourth year, leads to the inference that a trade with remote China then existed overland, and that her curious and valuable products, her silk and porcelain, reached the marts of Western Asia and Egypt,* by this channel.

Our acquaintance with the commercial productions of these countries, where the habits of the people from age to age have remained almost as unchangeable as the operations of nature, scarcely needs the notices of them which we find in ancient writers, to enable us to suggest the kinds of merchandise that Nineveh received by the Eastern route. Silk, porcelain, camphor, the celebrated root *ginseng*, lacquers and varnishes, from distant China ;—fine furs of various species, precious stones, such as amethysts, topazes, emeralds, tourmalines, zircons, beryls, with jasper, porphyry, and *lapis lazuli*, of great size and beauty, and gold, iron, and other metals, from Siberia;—turquoises, corundums, and agates; musk; bezoars (curious *calculi* found in the stomachs of ruminating animals, formerly believed to have marvellous virtues), the great dogs before described, and

* See Wilkinson, iii. 107; on the Chinese Vases found in the Tombs of Thebes.

fine goats' hair, from Tibet; and various drugs, as opium, rhubarb, and *bang* (an intoxicating substance produced from hemp), some valuable dyes, lamb-skins, fine wool, shawls, and leather, from Bactria;—these, accumulated by the various caravans of merchants, and borne upon the two-humped camels of this last named country, would come to Aria by the northern branch of the great Eastern road. Here they would be joined by the companies from northern, central, and southern India. The spices of the farthest East, cinnamon, pepper, cassia (but not cloves, nutmegs, and mace, for commerce had not thus early reached the remote isles where these are produced); with other aromatic and fragrant vegetable products, as nard, costus, olibanum, “sweet cane from a far country” (*Calamus aromaticus*), sandal and aloe wood; medicinal drugs, as opium, alocs, turmeric, *Lycium Indicum*, &c., were important articles of Indian commerce. Nor less valuable were the numerous dyes wherewith the brilliant hues that distinguished the fabrics of the Assyrian and Babylonian looms were produced. Indigo, saffron, and madder were well known Indian dye-stuffs, and so was the lac-insect, used from the most ancient times for dyeing crimson and scarlet, only surpassed by the modern cochineal. Ctesias mentions this substance as found near the sources of the Indus, and as producing a red hue, like that of cinnabar; it was used by the Indians themselves, and was superior to any other dye known in Persia. The most brilliant gems were also from this region; besides many of the kinds already mentioned, dia-

monds, rubies, emeralds, chrysolites, onyxes, and sapphires, of the finest quality, have, in all ages, been found in India. Probably, most of the agates, chalcedonies, and carnelians, used in the manufacture of seal-cylinders, were brought to Assyria from this quarter. Cotton in the wool, and perhaps the calicoes and muslins of Hindoo manufacture, were also imported thence. Ivory in abundance was procured from the herds of elephants that roamed in the forests of Ceylon and continental India; this substance, horns of various species of oxen and antelopes, or perhaps tortoise-shell, which has been used from very ancient times; and ebony, a heavy, black wood used in the arts with ivory for the advantage of the fine contrast of colour,—are mentioned (Ezek. xxvii. 15.) as brought together to the Tyrian fairs, and doubtless from India. There is reason to suppose that a considerable part of the tin employed in the metallurgic arts was produced in this region, for the Greek word *κασσίτερος*, which occurs even in Homer, is evidently the Sanscrit *Kastīra*, which is used for this metal.* The Indian steel enjoyed a

* Many of the Greek terms for Indian articles are almost literally transferred from the Sanscrit:—as *πίπρις*, pepper, from *pippali*; *μάργαρος*, the emerald, from *marakata*; *κάπριον*, cotton (כרפס, *karpas*, Fath. i. 6), from *karpāsa*; and *σινδών*, used in conjunction with *βύσσινον*, for fine linen or muslin (Herod. vii. 181), seems to be derived from *Sinlhu*, the Sanscrit name for the Indus: *κίναμον*, cinnamon, is derived from the Cingalese *kakyn nama*, sweet wood. (Penny Cycl. xii. 222.) This word (קנמון, *kinnamon*), occurs in Scripture in the composition of the anointing oil (Exod. xxx. 23) in the wilderness; and as the article was of course brought by the Israelites out of Egypt, it shows how early commerce with the far East was carried on, since cinnamon is produced only in the island of Ceylon.

high reputation in Western Asia, and was doubtless imported.* It is probable, also, that the peculiar grains of Hindostan, especially rice, and that kind of millet or Guinea-corn called *javaree* (a species of *Sorghum*), so extensively used throughout that country, were early diffused over the west by means of travelling merchants. Probably sugar-cane ought to be added, for it is mentioned as an article of export from India in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, and in Hindoo works of far higher antiquity, the Ramayana, and the Laws of Menu.

Many of these valuable commodities, especially those which were the productions of the maritime countries and islands of eastern Asia, found their way to the west by another channel. The Indian Ocean with its bays and auxiliary seas was navigated by adventurous mariners at a very early period. The Egyptians maintained a maritime intercourse with India in the time of the 17th dynasty,† supposed by Sir Gardner Wilkinson to have been coeval with Joseph. About ten centuries before the Christian era King Solomon instituted fleets, which, sailing from the Red Sea, made triennial voyages to distant parts of the ocean, commonly supposed to have been the coast of Sofala in South Africa, and some portion of the Indian peninsula. The objects of these voyages, for they were expressly commercial, were gold and silver, almug-trees, precious stones, ivory, apes, and peacocks (1 Kings x. 11, 22). Long before this, it is believed, the Phœnicians had established trading ports and colonies in the Mediter-

* Ctesias, Indic. § 4.

† Wilk. i. 46; iii. 190.

anean, and had even pushed their mercantile enterprise beyond the pillars of Hercules into the Atlantic. Job, as we have already mentioned, alludes to the "swift ships;" and the dying Jacob appears to glance at the maritime character of the Phœnician people, when he assigns the territorial positions of the tribes.

Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea; and he shall be for an haven of ships: and his border shall be unto Zidon. Gen. xlix. 13.

We shall find no difficulty, with these facts before our minds, in supposing that Nineveh, like Babylon, was the seat of a lucrative marine trade, situated as she was, like her sister and rival city, upon a mighty river, up which the merchandise of the southern ocean, washing so many and so varied lands, could be brought, without unlading, to her very wharves. The steamer "Euphrates" in 1830 ascended the Tigris as far as the mound of Nimroud, where her progress was arrested by the great dam already described. And we know from ancient writers that trading ships from the Indian Ocean sailed up the river Euphrates to Thapsacus (which was nearly opposite to the position of Nineveh on the sister river), where their merchandise was unladen, and carried to Asia Minor, Syria, and Phœnicia, by the caravan routes before mentioned.

The Persian Gulf was from remote times the seat of a great and flourishing commerce: a very large portion of the southern trade, or that of India and Arabia, flowing through it. Near its mouth, where stands the modern Ormuz, as Nearchus was informed,

when he sailed down with Alexander's fleet, there was a great mart for cinnamon and other similar merchandise, which was conveyed up to Assyria. He found also a fishery for pearls, in the vicinity, in active operation.

On the opposite, or Arabian side, was the great and famous commercial city Gerrha, an ancient Chaldean colony. An abundance of salt was produced in its vicinity, with which it maintained a flourishing inland trade: it was also the emporium of Arabian traffic, the spices, incense, gums and various merchandise of Arabia Felix being brought across the desert to this port in caravans, and thence shipped for transport into the interior. Babylon, and the depôt of Thapsacus, received the Euphratean part of this traffic; while that which proceeded up the Tigris was chiefly debarked at Opis, a great Assyrian port, situated a little above the Median Wall, and thence dispersed through Central Asia. The bay of Gerrha is believed to have been the first Dedan mentioned by Ezekiel (xxvii. 15) as bringing, to the fairs of Tyre, horns, ivory, and ebony.

On the same side of the Gulf were the isles of Tylos (or Tyros) and Aradus; colonized by the Phœnician race at a period so early that it had become a disputed point in the time of the Greeks, which was the parent and which the daughter. The connexion, however, was strictly maintained; and thus that enterprising nation of merchants kept in their hands the keys of the eastern and western seas. Around these islands was the most lucrative pearl-

fishery in the world; it was established in times immemorial, and still retains its ancient reputation, producing pearls to the value of 360,000*l.* per annum. Tylos was famous for its cotton, vast plantations of which were cultivated on the island; it produced also walking-sticks of great beauty, being spotted like a tiger:—what these were is now unknown; but they were in great demand at Babylon, where every man carried a staff. Theophrastus* speaks also of a peculiar kind of timber, very useful for ships, because almost imperishable in water, that grew in Tylos; the more valuable, because the shores of the Gulf are almost entirely destitute of wood. It may have been the teak-tree.

No track of commerce entered the Mesopotamian valley between the route just described, and the points where the Assyrian caravans crossed the Euphrates from the west; for the great and pathless wilderness of Arabia stretched across the wide interval. At the opulent town of Thapsacus (Tiphseh תפסח of 1 Kings iv. 24) was the lowest ford of the river; and hence it became the principal point where commercial intercourse between the east and west took place. Its possession was therefore of great political importance; and it proves the power of Solomon that his dominion included this valuable mart. Other important places were situated lower down the river, as Zenobia, where in the time of the Palmyrean kingdom was a custom-house, and Carchemish, at the junction of the Khabour with the Euphrates, a well fortified city, where Pharaoh Necho

* Hist. Plant. v. 6.

was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxiv. 7; Jer. xlv. 2), and where afterwards the emperor Julian crossed with a Roman army on a bridge of boats for the invasion of Persia. A little lower is Rahaba, supposed to be the Rehoboth by the river (Gen. x. 11; xxxvi. 37) co-eval with Nineveh; and further down still is Hit, the ancient Is, mentioned by Herodotus (i. 179) as eight days' journey from Babylon.

It is possible that caravans anciently crossed the desert to all these places, on their way to the different markets of Assyria and Babylonia. To the last named, Hit, there is at present a caravan from Damascus, the journey being performed in eleven days: the town is now, however, of no importance except as one of the stations on the route to Bagdad.

The gums and fragrant resins of Arabia are mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 107) as forming valuable merchandise, which Greece received through the Phoenicians. He adds cinnamon, but this was not, as he supposed, a native production, but obtained by the Arabian merchants from the East. Various places in the same country (whose names are not all now recognisable) are enumerated, with their commodities, by Ezekiel, in the passage before alluded to.

Dan also and Javan, going to and fro,* occupied in thy fairs: bright iron, cassia, and calamus, were in thy market. Dedan was thy merchant in precious clothes for chariots. Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar,

* Or Javan-me-Uzal (see Gen. x. 27), not Ionia, or Greece, which is mentioned in ver. 13.

they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats: in these were they thy merchants. The merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold. Ezek. xxvii. 19—22.

These articles are often alluded to by the classic writers as abounding in Arabia; and though gold does not now exist there in any quantity, there is sufficient evidence that it was anciently abundant. Some gems, as rubies, onyxes, and a sort of agate called Mocha-stone, are now common in Yemen and Hadramaut.

The Arabian caravan would meet at Rhinocolura with that from Egypt, bringing the fine linens, embroideries, and other manufactures of that country, whose genius, however, was not commercial, any more than that of the Hebrew nation, which yet, as we find, traded in the fairs of Tyre with its productions:—"wheat of minnith, and pannag," supposed by some to have been sweetmeats or preserved fruits, "and honey, and oil, and balm" (Ezek. xxvii. 17). The corn of Palestine was esteemed the best in the world; and two at least of the other articles had been from very early time considered worthy of exportation; for they were included in the present sent by Jacob into Egypt.

And their father Israel said unto them, If it must be so now, do this; take of the best fruits in the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present, a little balm, and a little honey, spices, and myrrh, nuts, and almonds. Gen. xliii. 11.

As the company of merchants wended onward from the south, Syria added her products. We are

ASSYRIA.

told she traded in the Phœnician fairs, with emeralds, purple and brodered work, fine linen, coral, and agate; goods which could not have been her own, but which were doubtless brought from the south or east. When Damascus, however, is added, bringing the wine of Helbon and white wool, we have doubtless native Syrian commodities, but rather from northern Syria than from Damascus herself. The wine of Helbon, the modern Aleppo, has already been noticed. Sheep and goats have been always numerous there; but it is possible, the wool here spoken of may have been that of the Angora goat, brought from Asia Minor. Damascus was formerly famous for cutlery and jewellery, and for a peculiar fabric known as damask cloth. At present it principally exports silk, galls, madder, opium, and dried fruits.

Hitherto we have been largely guided in our estimate of Assyrian commerce by what we know of that of Tyre. What then was Tyre's exportation, and with what did "the crowning city, whose merchants were princes, whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth" (Isa. xxiii. 8) occupy in the metropolis of the world? Her purple demands the first notice. The shores of Phœnicia produced in great abundance several species of shell-fish (*Murex*), from the juices of which were obtained dyes of various hues,* according to the accessories employed. The chief of these were crimson (made scarlet by the

* Amati (De restit. purp.) enumerates black, livid, violet, red, dark and light blue, yellow, reddish, and white; besides several more produced by mixture.

use of tin) and purple, both of great richness, and often varied by a changeable lustre, greatly admired, and employed everywhere for royal and princely apparel. The purple dye was chiefly appropriated to woollen cloth and for this manufacture Tyre was celebrated. We have already spoken of the jewellery, glass, and trinkets of various kinds, made by the Phœnicians, and have seen them bringing such articles as tribute to the Assyrian court.

But Tyre trafficked in other than native productions. The commerce of the world flowed into her port, and that of the broad West was exclusively her own. This she distributed to the East in turn, and thus we may confidently trace, through her caravans, the progress to the Assyrian marts of the rich produce of the Mediterranean. Spain in early times was extraordinarily rich in metals; it was the Peru of antiquity; and there from an age immemorial Tyre had established her colony of Tarshish. Gold and silver, and the scarcely less valuable, because more rare, *tin*; corn, wine, oil, wax, wool, preserved fruits, and salt-fish, were brought from her shores by the adventurous Tyrian fleets; and the name of the colony seems to have become, even as early as the days of Solomon, a term implying distant maritime commerce (1 Kings x. 22; see Ps. lxxii. 10). It appears pretty certain, indeed, that the Phœnician seamen had penetrated into the Atlantic, and had gathered tin from the mines of Cornwall, and amber from the shores of the Baltic. Strange to think that the alloy of tin used in the bronze ornaments now deposited in the British Museum, may possibly

have been carried from England to Assyria three thousand years ago, now to be returned like a rescinded loan!

The Phœnicians were slave-traders, and scrupled not to kidnap any person of whatsoever rank, wherever they had it in their power.* It is not improbable that the same practice was carried on by most nations, and that the persons of men were a commodity as saleable in every market as any other.

Such then was the varied merchandise which, at certain appointed, and probably regular, periods, converged at Damascus or at Baalbec, in immense caravans, ready, when the starting day arrived, to proceed across the Syrian Desert to Carchemish or to Thapsacus; thence,—distributing portions on either hand as it went along, up and down the river, and to the many populous cities of Mesopotamia, and probably receiving accessions too,—it wended to Nineveh; whence a moiety, having enriched the royal coffers with customs' dues, proceeded to Armenia and Scythia, to Central Asia, to India, to Babylonia, and to Susiana, by the routes already enumerated.

It appears that the overland commerce was chiefly carried on by nomad nations, of whom the Arabians were the chief, at least in the west, and perhaps the Tartars or Bactrians in the east. The earliest notice of a trafficking caravan that we have (Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28) shows that the tribes of Northern Arabia had already addicted themselves to commerce; and in later times of antiquity, the carrying trade appears

* See Odyss. xv. 540—585; Herod. i. 1; also Joel iii. 6; Amos i. 9.

to have been almost entirely in their hands. The similarity of the languages spoken throughout Western Asia,—Assyrian, Babylonian, Arabic, Hebrew and Phœnician, being all dialectic varieties derived from the Great Semitic stock,—must have greatly facilitated commercial intercourse.

It has been presumed, but we think on insufficient grounds, that the commerce of early antiquity was largely a system of *barter*. In the intercourse of the merchants of various nations with Tyre, we see indeed an exchanging of merchandise, but *that* is the principle of all commerce, and does not imply barter, unless it can be shown that a monetary standard was unknown. We have no doubt that in the markets of Tyre, and Nineveh, and Babylon, trade was as truly a system of money transactions, (perhaps not so well developed) as at Leipsic or London. The negotiation of Abraham with Ephron the Hittite, already mentioned (Gen. xxiii. 15), shows that commodities were even then valued by a money standard; the itinerant merchants paid for the captive Joseph, not in goods, but in pieces of silver (xxxvii. 28); and the sons of Jacob carried to Egypt, to buy corn, not the “balm and the honey and the spices,” of which their present was composed, but “money in full weight” (xliii. 12, 21). Sums of money are familiarly spoken of in the Vedas of India, supposed to date about a century later than this.

Whether the Assyrians used coined money, and if so, how early, are questions, which we have no evidence to answer. The most ancient coins known, we believe, are those of Ægina, of silver, and the

Parian Chronicle ascribes the invention to that state, about B.C. 895. Herodotus expressly says (i. 94) that the Lydians were the first of all nations that coined gold and silver, and their coins are considered to come next in antiquity to those of the Æginetans.* The Persian Darics much resemble the latter in appearance, caused by the mode of striking them; they are of gold and silver; and, if they were coined by the first Darius, may date about five centuries before the Christian era. The ancient Egyptians seem to have used rings of precious metal as money.

Gold coins, money-changers, and rates of interest are mentioned in native Hindoo works of very high antiquity. In the Laws of Menu,† conjectured by Sir William Jones to be at least as old as the twelfth century before Christ (or contemporary with the

* Etruria had a coinage probably earlier than this. "Father Marchi has collected specimens of no less than forty different mints of Italian nations prior to Rome, or contemporary with the foundation of the city." —Mrs. Gray's Etruria, 36.

See Sir W. Betham's "Etruria Celtica" for some highly curious and interesting information about the gold and brass ring-money, of a very remote antiquity, found in great abundance in the bogs of Ireland; probably of Phœnician origin.—Vol. ii. p. 104, *et seq.*

† Tables of proportionate weights are given in this ancient work. Their point of commencement is curiously low; the smallest mote in a sunbeam darted through a lattice.

8 motes = 1 poppy-seed.

3 poppy = 1 black mustard-seed.

3 black mustard = 1 white mustard-seed.

6 white mustard = 1 barley corn.

3 barley corns = 1 *ractia* of gold, &c.

Institutes of Menu, viii. 132—134.

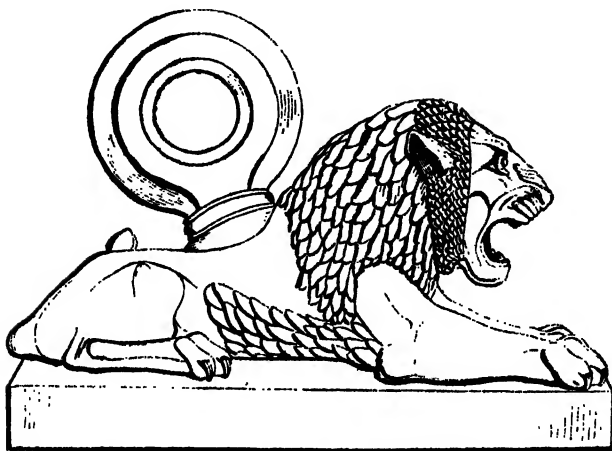
Judges in Israel) the weights of different coins of gold, silver, and copper, are determined with precision. In the Ramâyana (i. § 12) also, pieces of gold and of silver are mentioned, and the former are distinguished (§ 61) from unwrought gold. We do not know, however, whether these pieces were stamped.

Sir G. Wilkinson has given us an engraving, copied from one of the tombs of Thebes, which represents the weighing of the ring-money, above-mentioned, while a public notary takes down the weight on his tablet. It is observable that the weights are in the form of lambs or kids, which were in all probability the earliest standard of value, among the pastoral people of primeval ages. The term כֶּסֶת, *kesitah*, translated "piece of money," in Gen. xxxiii. 19; Josh. xxiv. 32; and Job xlii. 11, is supposed to mean *a lamb*, and is so rendered in the margin of our Bibles. The Latin *pecunia*, money, is supposed to be derived from *pecus*, cattle. The Greeks had no distinctive word for the same idea; but used ἀργύριον, silver, or χεῖματα, property, instead of it.

In the ruins of Nimroud, Mr. Layard found seventeen figures of couching lions of different sizes, the largest being twelve inches long, and the rest diminishing in regular gradation until the smallest was only one inch long. They are of copper, and were in all probability used as weights, since most of them had rings attached to their backs, by which they were lifted.

At Khorsabad a similar one was found about four

inches in length, which had been evidently cast in one piece with the plinth and ring. It is of beautiful

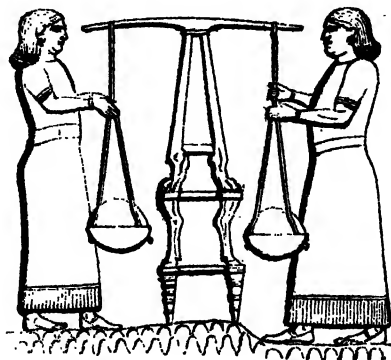


COPPER WEIGHT.

execution, full of spirit; the treatment of the face and the mane exactly resembles that of the strangled lions in the colossal sculptures on each side of the propyleum.

Only one representation occurs in the bas-reliefs of a pair of scales; these are of large size, the beam being nearly as high as a man. The defaced state of the sculpture prevents our discerning some points of interest, such as the mode in which the beam was suspended, and also the form of its extremities. The stand was either tripod or tetrapod; and the legs consisted of three portions each; viz., a lion's paw resting on a stage, this supported by

a bull's leg and hoof, resting on another stage, and this finally sustained by a carved foot in the shape



of a reversed cone. The scales were rather deep saucers, nearly hemispherical, and were suspended apparently by slender rods of metal, not cords, for they were arched outwards a little above the scale to afford more space for the commodity to be weighed. The extremities of the rods pierced the sides of the scale, and were riveted on the outside.

As long as the medium of exchange was weighed, there would be no need for the profession of an exchanger, as the precious metals were a common circulating medium in all civilized countries. In the times of the Greeks, however, the profession had become common.* But the principle of a fictitious

* Xenophon proposed the union of all the free population of Athens into a great banking company, to take advantage of the high rate of in-

currency, upon which our business transactions are so largely conducted, appears to have been well known to the monarchs of Assyria. Of this a most interesting evidence has lately come to light.

Many pieces of clay have been discovered, varying from about three inches to an inch square, shaped somewhat like a pillow, the two surfaces being rounded and coming to a blunt edge at the sides; both surfaces are covered with an impressed inscrip-



CLAY CURRENCY.

tion in cuneiform characters. These have been read by Col. Rawlinson, and prove to be an order on the royal treasury to pay to the bearer a certain named weight of gold. There can be little doubt that these cakes of clay passed from hand to hand as recognised representatives of a sum of money, that they were in fact bank-notes, a clay currency, always convertible into cash, on presentation at the imperial treasury.*

terest commonly paid by merchants for money. (Revenues of Attica.) And Plutarch mentions a banker of Sicyon, whose whole business consisted of exchanging one kind of money for another. (Life of Aratus.)

* We are indebted to Mr. Birch of the British Museum for the above information, as also for a sight of the interesting relic.

LANGUAGE AND WRITING.

Then said Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, and Shebna, and Joah, unto Rabshakeh, Speak, I pray thee, to thy servants in the Syrian language ; for we understand it : and talk not with us in the Jews' language, in the ears of the people that are on the wall. 2 Kings xviii. 26.

A FEW years ago the language of ancient Assyria lay enveloped in an obscurity the most intense and total. Inscriptions, indeed, existing in considerable numbers, in that and the neighbouring countries, especially Persia, Babylonia, and Armenia, and extending to Syria and Asia Minor, had long attracted the attention, and tantalized the desires of the learned. . The bricks found among the burnt heaps of Babylon were the best known examples of these inscriptions. Almost every brick bore an impression of many characters, of which the element was a figure resembling a wedge, or the barbed head of an arrow. This element, pointing in various directions, formed of different dimensions, and combined with others in many ways, produced a great diversity of characters, some simple, others very complex. The inscriptions received the name of Arrow-headed, or Cuneiform ; the latter term (sometimes interchanged with Cuneatic) being derived from *cuneus*, a wedge.

The Greeks and Romans gave us no information

on the subject; a casual reference to "Assyrian letters," without any description of what they were, being all that we find in their writings. That these impressed characters were the letters so referred to, was pretty uniformly believed; though it shows the obscurity in which the subject was involved, that Lichtenstein, a learned German, maintained that their antiquity was not greater than the seventh or eighth century A.D., and fancied that he read in them passages from the Korân; while Hyde and others supposed that they were no written characters at all, but mere arbitrary marks, placed around the doors and windows for the purpose of ornament, at the caprice of the architect. At these theories we can now afford to smile.

The Babylonian bricks were not the only recipients of cuneiform characters. They are cut upon the marble remains of Persepolis, and upon the face of the living rock in many parts of Persia, and the other countries above named. They are engraved upon the cylindrical seals, and other gems so abundantly found among the ruins of the most ancient cities. And the recent exhumation of Assyrian palaces has shown them in vast numbers painted upon bricks, and deeply cut upon marble statues and alabaster slabs of sculpture, some of these being exclusively covered with the inscriptions.

About the beginning of the present century the first successful effort was made to decipher the writing. In the year 1798, M. Tychsen, of Rostock, published a Memoir, followed in 1800 by an Essay from Dr. Munter of Copenhagen, on the Persepolitan

cuneiform. These learned men ascertained that the characters are alphabetical, that the words are separated by a single wedge placed obliquely; and that the mode of reading is from left to right. They suggested that a certain group of characters, frequently repeated, might signify "king."

Soon afterwards, Professor Grotefend, of Göttingen, turned his attention to the subject, and especially to the royal names in the inscriptions of Persepolis. Taking two of these, which had been published by Niebuhr, in which the groups of characters preceding the word "king" differed from each other, and knowing from history that the Persepolitan kings were of the Achæmenian Dynasty, which was not numerous; he went through the list of those kings as handed down to us by the Greeks, comparing each one with the groups of letters. Cyrus and Artaxerxes would not agree, the former being too short, the latter too long, for the number of characters; Cyrus and Cambyses again they could not be, for these commence with the same letter, which is not the case in the inscriptions. Darius and Xerxes alone remained; which, on close comparison, afforded so many points of resemblance with the cuneiform groups, that the key seemed attained.

But, as the Greek historians always Grecised barbarian names, it was needful to know what was the Persian orthography before absolute certainty could be attained in the identification of the characters. A passage from Strabo shows that what the Greeks called Darius, the Persians spelled

Dariaves; while the *Zendavesta* indicates that the native name of the river Araxes was *Warakshe*. Hence the Greek ξ was represented in Persian by *ksh*, and Xerxes became *Ksharksha*. The same authority gave *Gustasp*, *Kishtasp*, or *Wistasp*, for the surname of Darius, which the Greeks called *Hystaspes*. It was not difficult, now, to recognise the name of Cyrus; and thus Professor Grotefend had the gratification of recovering nearly one third of the whole Persian alphabet.

Somewhere about 1826, Professor Rask of Berlin, discovered the letters *m*, and *n*, which led to important verifications; and in 1836, M. Burnouf at Paris, and Professor Lassen, at Bonn, added much to the amount of existing knowledge. The latter, in particular, by his identifications of at least twelve characters, which had been mistaken by all his predecessors, may be entitled almost to contest with Grotefend the palm of alphabetical discovery.

While these brilliant results were crowning the labours of the philologists of Europe in this promising field of inquiry, an English officer was pursuing the same train of discovery in the region where the inscriptions most abound; and it is most interesting and gratifying to find that our learned countryman came to the same general conclusions as his contemporaries in Europe, though without any knowledge of what they were doing. In 1835, Major (now Colonel) Rawlinson, whose name will ever be associated with the most brilliant discoveries in palæography, was residing at Kermanshah in Persia, "only aware that Professor Grotefend had

decyphered some of the names of the early sovereigns of the house of Achæmenes," but unable either to obtain a copy of his alphabet, or even to discover what particular inscriptions he had examined. This gentleman submitted to analysis, in the manner adopted by his Gottingen predecessor, the sculptured tablets of Hamadân, containing two trilingual inscriptions; and succeeded in obtaining, in like manner, the names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes. The great inscription of Darius, engraven on the escarped rock at Behistun, near Kermanshah, supplied several more words to this able and indefatigable philologist, and enabled him, in the year 1836, to construct an alphabet of eighteen characters. Meanwhile, other scholars in Europe were pursuing the inquiry, and the names of M. Burnouf, Prof. Lassen, M. Jacquet, and Dr. Beer have earned a deserved reputation in this attractive, but difficult field of research. At the present time, we believe thirty-nine or forty characters are identified with precision.

The restoration of the alphabet is of course but one stage in the progress of reading these ancient records; the language in which they are written becomes the next inquiry. The old languages of Persia were the Zend, the Pehlvi, and the Parsi, which are believed to have been spoken contemporaneously; but the first fell into disuse before the Christian era, and the second was prohibited about the year A.D. 351, so that Parsi became the language of the court, and Pehlvi was confined to rude country districts. At the Mohammedan conquest,

Arabic became gradually the language of the country, modified and inflected by the genius of the Parsi tongue, and thus was formed the modern Persian. The Zend and the Parsi are Indo-European dialects, and possess considerable affinity with the Sanscrit; while Pehlvi is closely related to the Chaldee.

Of the Zend, little has remained, except such parts of the Sacred books of Zoroaster as have been preserved, and which are known by the name of Zend-Avesta, or the living word, and some ancient commentaries thereon. Works were written in Pehlvi in the sixth or seventh century of our era; but they are almost entirely lost.

The luminous researches of M. Burnouf, on the Zend language, and his critical and grammatical analysis of its structure, appearing just at this time, enabled Col. Rawlinson to translate, with success, the inscriptions whose characters he had mastered; aided by the Sanscrit, with which he is well acquainted. He has, by these means, presented to the world a literal, and, as he believes, a correct grammatical translation of more than 400 lines of cuneiform writing, of the time of Darius Hystaspes, interesting scarcely less in an historical, than in a philological point of view.*

A close examination of cuneiform inscriptions

* "I may notice as an illustration of the great success which has attended the efforts of myself and other students in this preliminary branch of the inquiry, that there are probably not more than twenty words in the whole range of the Persian cuneiform records, upon the meaning, grammatical condition, or etymology of which any doubt or difference of opinion can be said at present [January, 1850] to exist."—Rawlinson, Commentary on the Inscriptions.

had long convinced the learned, that several distinct species of writing were included in it. The element, indeed, was the same in all, the wedge, or arrow-head; but the combinations of this element into characters were very different, in different inscriptions; so as to form several alphabets, having no affinity with each other. They have been divided into three great classes, designated as Babylonian, Median or Scythian,* and Persian. The first of these, however, includes five very distinct varieties, which Col. Rawlinson names as follows:—

1. Primitive Babylonian. This is the character of the bricks which compose the foundations of the primeval cities of Babylonia, and of cylinders and tablets from their *debris*.

2. Achæmenian Babylonian. The character used in one series of the *trilingual* inscriptions, engraved by the Achæmenian dynasty of Persia, which will be described presently.

3. Medo-Assyrian. Found inscribed on the rocks near Van, and in a few other places. This is the character, also, of the earliest monuments from Nimroud, a fact which had not been made known

* Col. Rawlinson is disposed to consider this character and language (the second in rank in the Achæmenian trilingual inscriptions, in which alone its remains are found), as of Tartarian or Scythic origin, but as having been so long exposed to exterior and antagonistic influences, as to have lost much of its distinctive character, and to present much that is heterogeneous and unaccountable. Dr. Hincks, on the other hand, holds it to be certain that the language is Median, and of the Indo-European type, with, *perhaps*, a Tartar element introduced into it. This gentleman finds an almost perfect correspondence between the phonetic characters of this language and those of the Assyrio-Babylonian.—On the Khorasabad Inscriptions, pp. 4, 65.

when Col. Rawlinson published his observations. Mr. Layard, therefore, suggests the substitution of Early Assyrian for Medo-Assyrian.

4. Assyrian. The character of the inscriptions on the later sculptures and slabs at Nimroud, Khor-sabad, and Kouyunjik.

5. Elymæan. The character used in two rock-inscriptions in Susiana. These five kinds may, however, be reduced to three, the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Elymæan.

The process above described, which laid open the Persian cuneiform, left the other inscriptions as unknown as they had been before, for the language and character of the one were perfectly distinct from those of the others. It afforded, however, the means by which these were in their turn deciphered; the standing-place whence the lever was applied with success, to roll away the obscurity that had so long covered them. This we now proceed to explain, and for this purpose we shall use the words of our illustrious countryman, to whose learning, ingenuity and perseverance, the subject is so greatly indebted.

"There are found," observes Col. Rawlinson, "in many parts of Persia, either graven on the native rock, as at Hamadan, at Van, and Behistun, or sculptured on the walls of the ancient palaces, as at Persepolis and Pasargadæ, cuneiform inscriptions which record the glories of the house of Achæmenes. These inscriptions are, in almost every instance, trilingual and trilateral."

The most important place is always assigned to

the Persian, either the top, when the order of reading is downward, or the left side (that is the commencement), when they are arranged horizontally, or in the centre, when that part most prominently meets the eye. Repetitions or translations of the record, in the Babylonian language and character, and in the Median or Scythian, occupy the subordinate parts.

“The object, of course, of engraving the records in three different languages was to render them generally intelligible. Precisely, indeed, as, at the present day, a governor of Baghdad, who wished to publish an edict for general information, would be obliged to employ three languages, the Persian, Turkish, and Arabic; so in the time of Cyrus and Darius, when the ethnographical constitution of the empire was subject to the same general division, was it necessary to address the population in the three different languages from which have sprung the modern Persian, Turkish, and Arabic, or at any rate in the three languages which represented at the time those three great lingual families. To this fashion, then, or necessity of triple publication, are we indebted for our knowledge of the Assyrian inscriptions.

“As the Greek translation on the Rosetta Stone first led the way to the decipherment of the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt, so have the Persian texts of the trilingual cuneiform tablets served as a stepping-stone to the intelligence of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions. The tablets of Behistun, of Nakhsh-i-Rustam, and Persepolis, have in the first

place furnished a list of more than eighty proper names, of which the true pronunciation is fixed by their Persian orthography, and of which we have also the Babylonian equivalents. A careful comparison of these duplicate forms of writing the same name, and a due appreciation of the phonetic distinctions peculiar to the two languages, have then supplied the means of determining with more or less of certainty, the value of about one hundred Babylonian characters, and a very excellent basis has been thus determined for a complete arrangement of the alphabet."

A careful and extensive comparison of inscriptions brought to light varying modes of spelling the same word, and the frequent employment of *homophones*, or characters differing in form, but having a like sound, such as for example *f* and *s* in our older books, or *c* and *k* in the word *cake*. Thus were added fifty more characters to the Babylonian and Assyrian alphabets.

Col. Rawlinson considers that the cuneiform *character* originated in Assyria, but that the *system of writing* to which it was adapted, was borrowed from Egypt. The alphabet is partly *ideographic* (that is, some of the characters are intended to suggest ideas or objects, not sounds);* and partly *phonetic*, (or expressive of sounds); and the phonetic signs are

* Some characters are both ideographic and phonetic; examples of which we have in our own language; as when we write WILLIAM I., the letter I in William has its ordinary sound, but the same character after the word, does not represent a sound, as a child would read it, but the idea "one" or "first." See Hincks on the Khorsabad Inscriptions, 19.

in some cases syllabic, and in others literal; the same character being sometimes one, and sometimes the other. Sometimes certain characters represent two entirely dissimilar sounds.*

Some characters again are *determinative*, that is, they indicate the application of the word to which they are added; as for example, a proper name has a sign affixed, to determine whether it is the name of a man, or that of a place, &c. The names of the gods are represented by signs, sometimes the initial letter, as Bel by the character B, but sometimes arbitrary. Liquids, as *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, are frequently interchanged; as are the hard and soft consonants, as *b* and *p*, *d* and *t*. These peculiarities are Egyptian.

With all its imperfections, its laxity, and its cumbrous array of homophones, the Assyrian alphabet continued from its first organization to the period of the Persian conquest of Babylon, to be the one sole type of writing employed by all the nations of Western Asia, from Syria to the heart of Persia, though many languages were spoken by them.†

The key to the Assyrian language was found by a similar process to that which identified the characters of the alphabet. As duplicate names had determined the value of the latter, so did duplicate phrases give the meaning of words, and afforded an

* Somewhat like the letter *c* in our word *circle*, which has two perfectly distinct powers.

† So at present, the English, French, Spanish, and Italian speak different languages; but use the same alphabetic characters.

insight into the grammatical structure of the language. The stately formula of royal commemoration, to which are devoted all the ordinary trilingual tablets of Persia, furnished a basis of interpretation, which was improved and extended by an analysis of the inscription on the tomb of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam, and of the fragments that remain of the great Babylonian translation at Behistun. It is unfortunate that fully half of this tablet is entirely destroyed, leaving only the endings of the lines through the whole length of the inscription. The variety and extent of this record, if it had been perfect, would have afforded great facilities to a recovery of the language; but, as it exists, its help has been but small.

These Babylonian translations have afforded a list of about two hundred words, the meaning of which is known certainly, and the pronunciation approximately. These words are almost all found either in their full integrity, or subjected to some slight modification, in Assyrian, and usually afford a pretty correct notion of the general purport of the phrase in which they occur. By tracing out, sometimes through analogies of other Semitic languages, and more frequently through an extensive comparison of similar or cognate phrases, the meaning of words otherwise strange, and thus discovering the unknown from the known, Col. Rawlinson has been able to add about two hundred meanings, with certainty, and about a hundred with probability, to the two hundred before mentioned. The vocabulary thus obtained, amounts to five hundred words, or about

one fifth of the whole number which are estimated to exist in the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions. These words, however, constitute all the most important terms in the language, and are, in fact, sufficient for the interpretation of the historical Inscriptions, and for the general recognition of the object of every record, be it an invocation or dedication, or, as it more frequently happens, be it intended as a mere commemorative legend.

Into the grammatical structure of the language thus partially recovered, it would not be suitable to this volume to enter; we therefore refer our readers who may be interested in the subject to the publications of the learned philologist, to whom we have been mainly indebted for this summary. It may be sufficient to observe, that, though it is "certainly neither Hebrew, nor Chaldee, nor Syriac, nor any of the known cognate dialects, it nevertheless presents so many points of analogy with those dialects, both in grammatical structure and in its elemental words, that it may be determinately classed among the Semitic family."*

The languages of Assyria and Babylonia are here reckoned in the same category; for though not absolutely identical, they are yet sufficiently alike in their organization and affinities, to render what is said of one dialect applicable to the other.

But the cuneiform was not the only character em-

* Rawlinson, *Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 10. But Dr. Hincks asserts with confidence that "the primitive values of *all* the phonographs of the Assyrio-Babylonian, are Indo-European syllables, and not Semitic letters."—On the Khorsabad Inscriptions, 65.

ployed in Assyria. As, among ourselves, the letters which are used in writing with the pen are quite different in form from those which are printed with types, and engraved on public monuments, so it was in the East. The Egyptians, also, had a running hand quite distinct from the monumental or hieroglyphic character. The cursive letters used by the Assyrians bear a close resemblance to those of all the Semitic nations of Western Asia, and were written from right to left, the reverse order to that of the cuneiform. They have not yet been found in any of the very earliest monuments, perhaps because they



CURSIVE WRITING.

were chiefly employed for subordinate purposes, and were painted or written upon fragile materials, whereas the cuneiform were generally appropriated to solemn records, and were engraved on rocks, slabs, and gems, to ensure durability. Fragments of pottery, and an alabaster vase bearing the name of Shalmaneser, from Nimroud, are inscribed with the cursive character, and it has been found on bricks at Babylon,

of the age of Nebuchadnezzar.* We may presume that it was used by those scribes, who are seen recording events with the pen, on flexible scrolls, in the sculptures of the Lower Dynasty; and that it was the ordinary character in which letters, books, and legal and commercial documents were written; while such records as demanded great durability, and yet were required to be portable, were indented or graven on tiles, bricks, or cylinders of clay, which were then baked in the furnace. Many such documents have been discovered, and Mr. Layard mentions one, a hexagonal cylinder obtained by himself from the mound of Nebbi Yunus, which contains "on each side about sixty lines of writing, in characters so minute that the aid of a magnifying glass is required to ascertain their forms." This relic, now, by the munificence of the discoverer, deposited in the British Museum, contains the name and lineage of Sennacherib, and appears to be some public document of historical interest.†

We have already adduced some evidence to show the early use of the skins of animals, prepared, perhaps, in a peculiar way, for the purposes of writing; and the flexibility, combined with the toughness, the absorbent power, and the great durability of these materials would render them peculiarly fitting for records. Hence they appear to have been more generally used than any other substance before the invention of linen-paper; especially in countries where the papyrus-reed was not cultivated. The

* Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii. 164, 166.

† *Ibid.* ii. 186.

very frequent mention of letters and books in the Holy Scriptures forbids us to suppose that pen-writing on some such material was unknown to the polished Assyrians, even from the earliest times; since we find that books were familiar to Moses at the Exodus, that a city in Canaan had been called the City of Books, or the City of Letters (Kirjath-sepher or Kirjath-sannah, Judg. i. 11; Josh. xv. 49) long before;* that every king of Israel was commanded to write a copy of the law in a book (Deut. xvii. 18); and that "they who handle the pen of the writer" are mentioned as a recognised class of persons in the time of Deborah (Judg. v. 15).

Job expresses a wish that his "adversary had written a book," and declares that he would "bind it as a crown" to him (xxxi. 35, 36); an allusion that suggests *linen* as the material for writing on, as that is more suitable to be bound as a crown or tiara than leather; though a broad band of the latter might easily have been bound round the mitre as a diadem, if this were shaped like the Assyrian tiara. The expression, however, abundantly proves that pen-writing on some flexible material was known in Arabia at that remote period.

To come to later times, we find that letters were written and sent to persons at a distance, as early as the time of David (B.C. 1036) who wrote to Joab by the hand of Uriah (2 Sam. xi. 14, 15). Jezebel

* M. Prisse is said to have discovered an Egyptian papyrus, written in the hieratic character, in the first Memphite dynasty, or somewhere about 2300 B.C.

the wicked wife of Ahab (B.C. 900) wrote letters in her husband's name, and sealed them with his seal (1 Kings xxi. 8). The king of Syria (B.C. 894) sent letters by Naaman to the king of Israel (2 Kings v. 5). The king of Babylon sent letters and a present to Hezekiah on the occasion of his recovery from sickness (2 Kings xx. 12); and finally Sennacherib, the haughty monarch of Assyria, himself sent a blasphemous and insulting letter to the same king. (2 Kings xix. 9—14).

The earliest mention of rolled writings is in a Psalm of David, where "the volume (or roll) of the book" is spoken of (Ps. xl. 7). In the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, rolls are frequently mentioned, and the notice of one is so interesting that we quote the passage.

Then Jeremiah called Baruch the son of Neriah: and Baruch wrote from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the Lord, which he had spoken unto him, upon a roll of a book.

Then Baruch answered them, He pronounced all these words unto me with his mouth, and I wrote them with ink in the book.

And they went in to the king into the court, but they laid up the roll in the chamber of Elishama the scribe, and told all the words in the ears of the king. So the king sent Jehudi to fetch the roll: and he took it out of Elishama the scribe's chamber. And Jehudi read it in the ears of the king, and in the ears of all the princes which stood beside the king. Now the king sat in the winterhouse in the ninth month: and there was a fire on the hearth burning before him. And it came to pass, that when Jehudi had read three or four leaves, he cut it with the penknife, and cast it into the fire that was on the hearth, until all the roll was consumed in the fire that was on the hearth. Jer. xxxvi. 4, 18, 20-23.

We are not told what was the material of this roll, but from the circumstances of its being cut with a penknife, and burned in a fire, it is almost

certain that it was either linen, papyrus, or leather; and from what we know of Hebrew usages, most probably the last.*

Herodotus seems to intimate that in Asia skins of goats and sheep had long superseded the use of papyrus. His words are interesting:—"The Ionians *from ancient time*, call books made of papyrus, parchments; because *formerly*, from the scarcity of papyrus, they used the skins of goats and sheep; and even at the present day, many of the barbarians write on such skins."†

The frequent recurrence of Scribes in the bas-reliefs taking account of the plunder of cities, of the number of captives, the amputated members and heads of the slain, &c., intimates that the Assyrian monarchs were accustomed to keep precise records of the various transactions of their reigns, besides those events which were deemed of sufficient historical importance to be sculptured on marble or alabaster. From the book of Ezra (vi. 1—5), we learn that

* The very ancient roll of the Pentateuch, which Dr. Buchanan brought from the record-chest of the Black Jews at Malabar, is composed of thirty-seven *goat-skins dyed red* (see Exod. xxvi. 14), and measures forty-eight feet in length, and twenty-two inches in width; but probably it was nearly twice as long when perfect. It includes one hundred and seventy columns of MS., each four inches broad, and containing from forty to fifty lines. The date of this roll cannot be ascertained, but it is certainly very ancient; and there is reason to believe that the colony is descended from the Jews who were carried captive by Nebuchadnezzar. Horne's *Introd.* iv. 86, *et seq.* The Cabul Jews, who travel into the interior of China, say that in some synagogues the law is still written on a roll of leather, made of goats' skins, dyed red; not on vellum, but on a soft flexible leather.—Buchanan, *Researches*, 236 (9th Ed.).

† Herod. v. 58.

there was what is called a "house of the rolls" or record-office at Babylon, where ancient documents were preserved. A similar one existed at Achmetha, or Ecbatana, where, in the time of Darius Hystaspes, the original edict of Cyrus for the return of the Jews from captivity, was searched for, and found. The number of the people who returned upon this decree, and even their genealogies, had been carefully registered, and the record had been preserved (Ezra ii. 62; Neh. vii. 5).

The chronicles or annals of the Hebrew kings, both of Judah and Israel, were written in books; and so were those of the Persian monarchs (Esth. vi. 1); and we may safely conclude the practice to have been common to the courts of Babylon and Assyria.

APPENDIX.

WHILE this volume has been passing through the press, some interesting additions have been made to the identifications of names found in the Assyrian records with those familiar to us in the Scripture History. The following communications were made by Dr. Hincks to the *Athenæum* of the 27th of December 1851, and the 3rd of January, 1852.

“ The following identification will, I dare say, interest many of your readers. The king, who is represented in the second line of the sculptures on the Obelisk, is no other than Jehu, King of Israel. He is called *Ya · u a* the son of *Kh'u · um · r'i · i*; that is יְהוּא the son of עֲמֶרִי, or according to the English version, *Jehu* the son of *Omri*. The name of his supposed father is precisely that which appears in the cuneatic name of Samaria, *Bit-Khumri*, as identified by Col. Rawlinson. It is true that Jehu was neither the son nor the grandson of Omri; nor is it probable that he was connected with his family at all; but the King of Assyria could not know this. He found him on the throne where Omri had sat; and this was a sufficient reason for his calling him his son. As a corroboration of this

identification, I observe that Hazael, the King of Syria, the known contemporary of Jehu, is repeatedly mentioned on the Obelisk and in the Bull inscriptions of the same King. He waged war with him in his eighteenth and twenty-first years. Col. Rawlinson calls this king *Khazakan*; but the four characters which compose the name are according to my syllabary *Khá · já* (or *dzá*) *a'h · Il*, the last being here the ideograph for "God." This name would be in Hebrew חַזְקִיאל, which is nearly the Biblical name of the King. From this identification, it follows, that the date of the Obelisk is, according to the chronology in the margin of our Bibles, about 875 B.C., leaving an interval of less than 150 years between it and the accession of Sargon, the Khorsabad king.

I am, &c.

EDW. HINCKS."

"Since I addressed you on the 22nd instant, I have found the name of a second king of Israel in the Nimrud inscriptions published by the British Museum. In the south-western palace there is a series of slabs, brought from the centre of the mound, but of later date than the Obelisk and the colossal Bulls, which are of the age of Jehu. These slabs contain annals of a king, whose name does not appear. Col. Rawlinson stated confidently that he was the Khorsabad king, Sargon; but from comparing the transactions assigned to the same regnal years in this series and at Khorsabad, I

felt satisfied that he laboured under a mistake. On looking over the names of certain kings who paid tribute in the eighth year of this king's reign (B. M. Pl. 50. 1. 10), I found a name which is decisive on the question,—*Mi-na'kh'i'im'mi Sâ-mi-ri'n'â-âyi*; that is מנחם of שמרון, Menahem of Samaria, masoretically *Shômerôn*. The final *mi* in the king's name is added as a case-ending, so that the name exactly corresponds with the Hebrew. This name proves that the slabs belonged to Pul, who is mentioned in 2 Kings xv. 19, 20, as having imposed tribute upon Menahem. He was the predecessor of Sargon, and of a different family; which accounts for his slabs having been removed, and his name having (it is said) been defaced by Esarhaddon, the grandson of Sargon, who built this palace. It proves also the identity of the Samirina and the Bit-Khuanria of the Inscriptions, which I before considering improbable; and the consequent fact that the 27,280 men mentioned in Botta, Pl. 145. 1. 12, as having been carried into captivity by Sargon, were Israelites. They appear from the inscription not to have been inhabitants of Samaria itself, but of rural districts or provincial towns. This identifies the deportation spoken of with that in the reign of Pekah, recorded in 2 Kings xv. 29, and attributed to Tiglath-Pileser, who was consequently the same as Sargon, the builder of Khor-sabad. I pointed out this identification in my paper on the Khorsabad inscriptions; and I think it inconsistent with Col. Rawlinson's assumption

that the Khorsabad king was the Shalmaneser of Scripture. The latter I take to be the son of Sargon, an elder brother of Sennacherib, as I mentioned in the paper referred to. I must also dissent from Col. Rawlinson's opinion that the deportation of the Israelites was in the *first* year of Sargon. The inscription where it is mentioned does not give the chronology of the events which it records, and other inscriptions seem to me to show that it must have occurred at a more advanced period of his reign.

I am, &c.,

EDW. HINCKS."

Still more recently the accuracy of these readings has been confirmed by Col. Rawlinson, apparently from independent observation.

"At a Meeting of the Asiatic Society, the Assistant-Secretary read a letter he had received from Col. Rawlinson, who has resumed his official labours at Bagdad, after a few busy weeks at the ruins of Nineveh. This letter is confirmatory of the discoveries promulgated by Dr. Hincks, at the close of the last and beginning of the present years; and the coincidence of the independent discoverers, placed thousands of miles apart, will be a strong confirmation of the truth of their readings to those who are unable to investigate for themselves, and an evidence of the value of Col. Rawlinson's 'Indiscriminate List' of Assyrian characters, published in the December number of the Society's Journal. The Colonel says,

'I am now satisfied that the Black Obelisk dates from about 860 B.C. The tribute depicted in the second compartment upon the Obelisk comes from Israel: it is the tribute of *Jehu*. The names are *Yahua* the son of Khumriya, or יְהוּא the son of עֲמִרִי. Jehu is usually called in the Bible the son of Nimshi (although Jehoshaphat was his actual father: —2 Kings ix. 2); but the Assyrians taking him for the legitimate successor to the throne, named as his father (or rather ancestor) 'Omri, the founder of the kingdom of Samaria; 'Omri's name being written on the Obelisk as it is in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser,—where, as you already know, the kingdom of Israel is always called the country of *Beth 'Omri*. If this identification of name were the only argument in favour of Jehu, I should not so much depend on it; but the King of Syria is also named on the Obelisk *Khazail*, which is exactly the חַזַּאֵל (2 Chron. xxii. 6) Hazael of Scripture, who was the contemporary of Jehu; and in the inscriptions of the Obelisk king's father (whom I have hitherto called Sardanapalus, but whose real name must be read *Assur-akh-bal*) there is also a notice of Ithbaal, King of Sidon, who was the father of Jezebel the wife of Ahab, and a contemporary of Jehu. These three indentifications constitute a synchronism on which I consider we may rely, especially as all the collateral evidence comes out satisfactorily. The tributes noted on the Obelisk are all from the remote nations of the west; and what more natural than that the tribute of Israel should thus be put next

to the tribute from Egypt? There was no Assyrian campaign at this period against either Egypt or Israel, but the kings sent offerings in order to keep on good terms with their eastern neighbour. I have not yet had time to go through the very elaborate history of *Assur-akh-bal*, contemporary with the Prophet Elijah; but I expect to find several other synchronisms which will set the chronological question at rest for ever."—*Athenæum*, March 27th, 1852.

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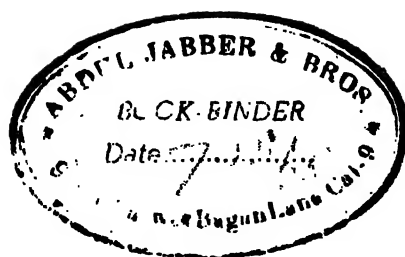
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THE END.

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